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THE COLONIES,
AND
THE PRESENT
AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS.


BY M. DE PRADT,
FORMERLY ARCHBISHOP OF MALINES.

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1817.
1777

ETC ETC

THE COLONIES

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P R E F A C E.

IN the Work which we now give to the Public, we are about to lead its attention to a subject of great importance. When, in 1800, we presented to it the first fruits of our reflections on the question of the Colonies*, we could only have in view then to lay before it the principles, or great outlines of the Colonial System. Our efforts, at that time, only extended to the demonstration of a theory which awaited the confirmation of facts. It has not had long to wait that confirmation—for in the times in which we live, the wing of time follows close upon, when it does not outstrip, the pen of the writer, and we can commonly soon determine what opinions to hold upon the merit of all kinds of theories.

Since the period at which we wrote, facts have appeared, if we may so speak, to range themselves under the order of the principles which we then announced—and the Colonial System, which at that time seemed only to be shaken, has since undergone a total change. Among the principal facts which have occurred in that

* The author's former work, entitled, *Les Trois Ages des Colonies*, Paris, 1802, of which "The Colonies" is a sort of revised edition, with much new matter.—T.

PREFACE.

time, there are several which we may be
to point out as the necessary consequences
ge which already began to be remarked in
—thus we have announced,
dissolution of the equivocal state in which
o then stood with regard to France, as
in a complete independence, as soon as
es should appear to favour it;
ontinuanee of insurrections among the Ne-
uccessive and forced conquest of all the
England, not to gain them for herself, but
antage of her commerce, leaving them to
ishes with regard to the sovereignty;
ecided and incontestible superiority of the

PREFACE.

v

side. It is under shelter of these, and in some measure induced by them, that we again venture to call the attention of the Public to the consideration of the most important question with which it can be engaged—for it is rather an appeal to the public attention relating to the Colonies, than a treatise upon them, which we have pretended to give. Let others go over the whole of the course—we have only desired to show the entrance and the exit, to place the stakes upon the ground, and induce others to enter upon it—a career long and large enough, and where there is space for all.

The division of the work was pointed out by the very nature of its subject—it was natural to commence with a short exposition of the facts relative to the establishment of each people, from their discovery to the latest treaties which have fixed the condition of each. Such an analysis appears sufficient to give that portion of information which every one, in our times, expects to obtain—those who would desire more profound views must turn to that abundant source of information, the celebrated work of Raynal—ours will serve them to correct some notions of that writer; too much admired at the time, as well as too much vituperated, and to compare the order of things which he has traced, with the order which exists in our days; for if, in point of time, there are but a few years of interval

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aynal and us, in point of facts there are
himself could not recognize the world to
writings introduced us—the painter would
his own picture. Such is the effect of the
change which has been operated in the Co-
concussion given to these countries by the
has been felt still more forcibly than in the
selves in which it originated; and fixed in
is in full activity in the Colonies. The
change in the Colonial System, which must
follow the emancipation of Spanish America,
most extensive result of that great event,
its totality, we call the French Revolution.
lity with which these changes have occurred
to use with moderation calculations of sta-

discretion, and search in it rather for approximations than for certainties—it is only under these relations that we present our own calculations, and that we demand that they should be judged. The principles of the Colonial System naturally follow this detail of historical facts ; and, finally, it has been thought necessary to inquire what the colonial countries may become, and for that purpose to enter into the question of the war of Spain with its Colonies. The fate of Spanish America will be that of all the Colonies ; for that mass is too powerful not to carry every thing along with it, in the direction which itself takes.

In insisting on the necessity of a Colonial Congress, as well as on the friendly intervention of Europe in the quarrel, we had a view to the general interests of Europe, and to the particular interests of Spain, and at the same time to those of America, which in fact suppose the two first. The ruin of the first, and the torment of the other, must be prevented. But why should we devastate America, to the entire loss of the whole world? For nothing, now, can change the fixed state of things ; it remains only to terminate the matter in the way least injurious to the interests of each. America, delivered to a crowd of leaders, who, without any ties among themselves, portion it into a thousand parts, will be every where destroyed ; it will

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profitable to Europe, and will fall into the hands of Asia Minor and the anarchical pachas of the Ottoman empire, if we do not hasten to establish those centres of authority acknowledged by all the civilised majority of nations, beneath whose sanction the commerce of Europe with America can alone be carried on. The anarchy of America will be the source of poverty to both worlds, while her good order will be the source of their opulence and their repose. Already the effects of anarchy are felt in Europe, and we must entirely separate ourselves from the true state of the country, not to be deceived by the double want of money and supplies, which the troubles of America have caused it to suffer. The effects of more than six mines of Mexico have

were, naturalized in Europe—that country lives under a tempestuous sky, which, changing only the kinds of its plagues, makes the paleness of famine succeed to war, and doubles by want the ravages of the sword. What resources would fainting Europe find, if she could but reach them, in the harvests of America and the mines of Mexico, where the earth rewards the labours of man in a proportion unknown there? And it is not only to the present moment that we are to look, but to the future; for we must not conceal the embarrassments which will be caused, in the bosom of Europe, by the facilities, and, as it were, the open roads, through which every one may now attain that education which, not long since, was in the possession only of certain classes. It is safer at present to count on instruction than employment, on industry than on riches, people of business than business itself. We may say that in some measure among the first, the form outweighs the thing itself. This inequality will be always increasing, from the modern organization of society; and surely it would be a happy thing to be able to open means to that vast number, whose faculties are so far above their fortunes, favoured by nature with her gifts, and repulsed by the neglect of society. The Colonies, whether we consider the field which they open in themselves, or the wide pursuits to which they

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extremely fit to be employed for the assistance
in furnishing the means which it wants in
the supply of a part of its own great family.
and personal feeling have induced us to point
angers which arise to royalty and the Catholic
from the prolonged struggle between Spain
ca, and the facility which is given to the first
of its fate: we are the more drawn to make
ation, because, in the number of American
ns which we have seen, we have not met
which included a single word referring to
the contrary, all are struck with a deep
epublicanism, and lean more to the institutions
ted States than to those of Europe. The
much the greater, as no country equals

on these ; but among these three great interests, that which over-rules, and by far surpasses all the others, is without doubt that of the Colonial System. What has passed in the Colonies carries back the world to the epoch of the discovery of the colonial regions, and in the assignment of their proper class to the two epochs, the decision is not difficult ; for there is all the difference between the one and the other that there is between a sketch and a finished picture.

The revolution in the Colonies is not a matter of chance, nor unexpected ; it is only the necessary result of the developement of the elements of which they were composed ; the growth of the seeds which were sown on them ; of the institutions, and of the men which have governed them. On comparing the principles of the Colonial System with the plans adopted by the people of Europe in the administration of their Colonies, we shall find that the only people which has had notions truly colonial is the English. In the Colonies, as well as elsewhere, nothing is the effect of chance ; chance is the idol of the blind, worshipped by thoughtlessness : reason, on the contrary, admits nothing as the proof of events but the nature of things, observation, and experience. It is people in particular ; 2. Because it is every where promised, and partly accomplished.

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the separation of America from Spain has
attributed to Napoleon: he only accelerated
the publication of their divorce: it is
he cut the cable which bound them together
time had already reduced it to a thread, of
which the immersion in the water had concealed the feeble-
ness some time after it was broken. If, instead of
his power to conduct two direct wars against
great powers, at sea against England, on land
against Russia, Napoleon had employed the strength
of France in securing the independence of America,
which he regarded as written in the
laws of nature and of necessity, he would have
freed Europe and France from those chains which
the superiority of England imposes on them.

the prosperity which it diffuses through another—to extend the limits of liberty, to multiply commercial relations—to regard the wealth of the world as a common fund created by Providence, from which each member of the great family of mankind may draw; according to his labour and his industry—to abjure the jealous and odious maxims of ancient trade—to teach nations that it is not their interest to rule over one another, but only to trade together—to extinguish, or at least to prevent, by this conduct, the causes of restraint, of ruin, and of wars: such has been the end which we proposed to ourselves: we all feel how incompatible it is, with the appearance even of elevating or a design to abase any one—of swelling the power of some, and afflicting others. The flatterers and the detractors of nations are as odious as the flatterers and the detractors of individuals. All that can be said of the colonial, commercial, and maritime conditions of various nations, consists in facts; let these be destroyed, and it will cost us nothing to acknowledge our error; but as they now stand, let nobody be enraged to see them exposed; thus, when we calculate the power of England, and the force of the double lever with which she moves the world, her capital and her industry, let not our readers attempt to discover either an intention to over-rate her resources, or to lessen

on our opinions relating to the
Europe, and particularly on that c
demands that we should not separate
doctrine from the connection with t
which we assign to it. In calculati
marine costs to France, it was natur
it returned to her; it seems that t
its fit place on the tribune of the de
the fixed regulators of the sacrifices o
since the limits within which the cha
the flight of their patriotism forbid t
great political interests, in confining t
rior legislation; since the grant of par
civil government accompanies the deni
n the political system, we have done w
ll up the blank: writers are in the
tors, when these are not their nece

outrages do evil to the cause of Spain, they are kindling a hatred in the bosoms of the Americans which nothing will extinguish; they have made all the interest of the tragical drama be felt for America; they have awakened the cruel recollection of those atrocities which first gave to Spain the dominion of those countries; but the times are changed: and those means which then enabled her to succeed will now ruin her. All kingdoms have changed their names, their aspects, and their masters. One only remains unshaken, imperishable, and immutable—reason, humanity, nature,—a bond which every endeavour to break will but render more lasting. In viewing an entire and immense people, devoted to extermination in the name of the rights of sovereignty, it is natural to inquire, whether nations have been made for sovereignty, or sovereignty for nations; if, while in the social system all proceeds from them, ought not all also to refer to them; if it be much to declare a whole people rebellious, what must it not be to see a whole world declared rebellious by a part of another world, which gives command to the former, to offer itself up a sacrifice to its own interested views? for this is the whole ground of quarrel between Spain and America. That *alliance* would be indeed *holy*, which should take in hand this sacred cause, and which should put a final term to the

nor himself to be crushed and
separates from its parents th
the sap which, in time, ma
in strength and in foliage that
acorn on the ground, has giv
every thing in nature, in the sa
be succeeded and supplanted; a
tree set to be topped by a few arm
bend its branches after their own
opposition to the emancipation
to that country, it is equally fata
the whole world; for, who can n
of which liberty is the foundation
discovered only by her name and
treasures, shut up in her bosom,
liberty shall reveal them to the
that commerce will enter into n

and India, we shall see that the seas will be laden with the productions which these favoured climates shall exchange with each other*. When the only regulations between the earth and man shall be labour and industry, we will know, for the first time, what the world can do. Till now it has had but a forced and constrained direction: the emancipation of America will lead it to know its power and its strength, and will unite all the parties and all the talents of the globe, which, separated and withheld from each other by the prohibitive laws of every nation, have never been able to mix together.

History tells us, that the ferocious companions of Almagro and Pizarro, when they arrived at the summit of the Cordilleras, with Peru under their feet, and the Pacific Ocean before their eyes, fell on their knees as they viewed the new earth and the new seas which they descried from the top of those icy summits, overwhelmed with the weight of the bounties which Providence had given as the reward of their courage: astonishment and gratitude united cast

* See, "The Isthmus of Panama considered as to the practicability of its affording a route to the Pacific Ocean, and the inferiority of that route (if practicable) to the land route by Buenos Ayres, in reply to the mistakes of the Edinburgh Review, by William Walton, Esq." COLONIAL JOURNAL, Vol. III.—T.

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whose breasts, as well for the sake of their
for their crimes, nature had armed with a
impenetrable than that which the poet
to the first navigator. What these men felt
we yield to the same emotion of surprise
when we contemplate in imagination the
which American emancipation will pour on
e. The fancy is too barren to represent
ds are too weak to declare them.*
but one step of the course entered upon,
the daughters of Brazil are come to be
ne thrones of Europe ; the daughter of the
united to the sceptre of Brazil, and other
follow : the two worlds, mingling their blood
reciprocally spilling it, shall substitute the

they were loaded, and thus recall humanity to the condition which Providence assigned to it in forming it, that of a single family animated with the same heart, since he endowed all parts of it with the same faculties. May these considerations contribute to fix the attention of our contemporaries upon this important subject! may they turn it from nearer objects which tend rather to irritate than to occupy them! Europe, and France most of all, have need of something to carry their attention beyond their own territories; before this period, the Colonies of the French hardly extended beyond their possessions in the Antilles—when one spoke of the Colonies, one only thought of St. Domingo and of Martinico; now a wider prospect is extended before them, the world itself; let them bear among them in their noble enterprise a part of that activity which would have consumed them fruitlessly, when all that would have supported them would have been the recollection of a time past which could never return;—we have spoken enough of discords and of evils, let us seek to forget them in the contemplation of these new interests!

There are some employments which have a happy tendency to calm, to elevate, and to purify the mind; the science of Politics, applied to the great interests of humanity, should, like Astronomy, produce this effect;

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and, if it be impossible not to return wiser and better from the contemplation of the heavens, it cannot be less so not to lay down many passions and prejudices at the feet of human societies, viewed from an eminence, and in their totality, and not to feel the force of our private interests diminish, in proportion as we compare them with theirs.

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THE
COLONIES,
AND THE
PRESENT AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I.

*Grandeur and Importance of the Inquiry respecting
the Colonies.*

THE mariner's compass* and Columbus, adventurous navigators and lucky accidents, such as are almost of perpetual occurrence in human affairs, have given and unbosomed the New World to the Old; have joined, it may be said, two parts of the world together, which were mutually ignorant of each other's existence, and have thus rendered man's knowledge of, and dominion over, the universe complete. More glorious, more happy than their so-highly-celebrated predecessors, than all those ancient nations whom men are disposed to make the subject of degrading comparisons, the moderns are acquainted with the form and extent of the residence which Heaven created for them; they enjoy an intercourse with all its inhabitants, the fruits

* Invented in the fourteenth century by Flavio Gioja, of Amalfi, a celebrated town of the kingdom of Naples.

THE COLONIES.

rent soils, the productions of all its climates. In nature is now concealed from their eyes; no longer contains obscurities into which it is not penetrated: its form and its circumference, the mass of the solid parts, the immensity of the voids which surround them, the immensity of the vast ocean in which it seems to float; every thing is measured, every thing is fixed.

Through all the extent of those coasts, in the different parts of which nature seems to have displayed so much variety and caprice, there is not even an inlet that has not been explored by the compass, or the pencil of travellers, guided by the naturally useful love of riches or of pleasure. In the interior of the two continents, in the midst of so many regions where the foot of man has never penetrated, here, at present, even a cavern exempt from the reach of research? Is there even one of their savage inhabitants, whose origin and kind he has not inquired into, whose tastes he has not inquired into,

keep at a distance the attacks of pain? Is there a country of which he has not demanded those brilliant ornaments which decorate it, the precious metals which glitter in its palaces, in the rich variety of its furniture and of her dresses, the distribution of which among all the classes of society sheds among them the blessings of a bountiful dew. These are the advantages which the discovery and possession of the New World have of themselves procured for the Old; and even these constitute but the smallest part of the benefits; for, in order to have a just estimate of their value, to finish the picture, it would be necessary to add the increase in her population, and in the number of her cities, in commerce, in maritime power, in knowledge of the arts; it would be necessary to estimate the value of every conquest which she has been obliged to obtain over herself, to enable her to enjoy her new conquest; in a word, it would be necessary to be able to compare the state of Europe, at the time the Colonies were discovered, with that in which it is at the present day;—of that Europe, which knew nothing of one half of the world, and, unacquainted with herself, confined in her enjoyments to a circle as narrow as that of her acquirements; not daring to permit her navigators to venture beyond the sight of their own coasts, or but with the direction of the stars of heaven; consequently in want of the means of forming any close union between the members of the great family which covers the earth, in want of the aliments which the genius of commerce, and the long and expensive enterprises of governments require;—enterprises which lead so abundantly to these new sources.

It would be necessary to compare that old and de-

porting, in the twinkling of vessels, the productions of a assiduous purveyors to the inhabitants; to compare the act and the necessities of their government supported by the tributes of the venterprises proportioned to the powerful support!

Three hundred years have been about this astonishing metamorphosis. Three hundred years have done more for the world than all preceding ages. The fifteenth century saw the dawn of a new era, and expired on the twilight of the old. About to shine forth on the universe, and Columbus had already appeared. A fortunate accident; and, that nothing might obstruct their researches, they took their course from west to east. The one attempted Asia by ways had ever suspected: America was discovered by the other. In the space of four centuries.

preceding and subsequent event in history contract and shrink up when compared with that revolution ! What a concussion is, in consequence, suddenly felt by the whole world ! The human race, roused by the shock, seemed to awake from a deep sleep, and to have found new senses in the new roads which man cuts out for himself. A new intellectual universe opens before him at the same time with the new material and terrestrial ; his ideas take another direction, enlarge, and refine. Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Navigation, Arts, Botany, the Knowledge of his own Species,—every thing enlarges and improves around him, from all the subjects for observation which are scattered over the immense surface of which he enters into possession. Never had so vast a harvest offered itself to that happy avidity which man nourishes in himself for seeing and knowing every thing. Ancient errors, revered almost equally with Holy Writ, fall to the ground at sight of the new facts which contradict them : it might even be said that, to put man on a level with his new conquest, the epoch when he accomplished it was that of all the great discoveries, and of the abjuration of almost all the ancient errors. The Colonies and the Press, designed for the use of Europe, which made their appearance almost at the same epoch, have entirely changed its face.

The dull and narrow channels which had hitherto sufficed to connect the parts of the ancient world as yet known, and for the transport and exchange of their productions, were abandoned at once, and replaced by new routes, lately discovered. All nations rush eagerly forward at once, in that career to which brilliant success, and hopes still more brilliant, invite them. Genoa, Venice, Flanders, the ancient staple-

Spain alone become
American treasures; happy if, at
them, she had not employed a
those which the New poured into
Holland, and, some time afterwards
to share the fruits of the new
people of the South, and also the
which produced them. Each
veniently could, or whatever was
during some time the half of the
plunder and robbery.

It certainly does not form any
will never enter into the plan of
to investigate European rights upon
the taking possession, or of the sea
or by mounting up to the origin of
ties. Away with such an idea,
questions and of declamations, which
results does not diminish the danger

Power and commerce have, at all
primitive titles of nations against
archives have seldom admitted an
no very far from

titles, we shall consider the European establishments in both worlds under relations purely political: we shall examine, principally, their influence upon the colonial possessions, the origin, the extent, the progress of those conquests, their real state, the causes of their rise and of their fall. Proceeding then from these positive data to the explanation of the different colonial theories, we shall make use of them as so many steps in the demonstration of a plan entirely new. This plan will result from an examination of the principles upon which the Europeans have conducted their colonial establishments, from the success which they have met with, from the errors into which they have fallen, from the plans which they tried or prepared; in fine, from that which remains for them to do. It will also be the result of an examination of the Colonies, as to their different kinds, their different ages, their different wants, the different degrees of their importance, and, above all, their different destinations. One sees what a mass of facts and observations must be collected to throw light upon all those subjects, and to connect them together; and as nothing is better adapted to elucidate an inquiry than to commence with an exposition of the facts which belong to it, we shall begin this important discussion by an account of the ancient and modern state of the European Colonies.

CHAP. II.

European Colonies.—Portuguese.

OF all the European nations the Portuguese appear, with respect to colonies, to be best entitled to the claim of seniority, though in every other respect they are juniors. This nation, almost imperceptible in Europe at present, from its position, from the low state of its population, and the narrow limits of its territories, was the first to conceive and to prove the existence of unknown countries, the discovery of which might be of service to Europe. Enclosed in a very confined space, without any of those preliminary convulsions which, by electrifying a nation, strikes fire from bosoms which were never supposed to have contained any, Portugal ran the career upon which she entered with the stride of a giant; she carried into the midst of the African nations and of Asia a heroism of valour and of virtue which, striking them at once with astonishment and respect, deeply inculcated on their minds the idea of the superiority of Europeans, and effectually prepared for that success which they did not fail subsequently to obtain, in the midst of the inhabitants of those countries. Portugal, almost unknown in Europe, became all at once a colossus in Asia. It might have been said, that the Portuguese had qualities in reserve for the regions beyond the line, which entirely deserted them on this side of it; and what is most singular, and most honourable at the same time, in their history, is, that it never happened, even once, that they turned the riches and the energy of their new existence against Europe. The Portu-

guese never mixed in the affairs of Europe; if they were great in the Indies alone, it was only there that they were formidable also: they never have been dangerous to Europe, which they have never at any time attempted to disquiet: Vasquez de Gama, Alayda, Castro, but above all Albuquerque, exhibited in the midst of the nations of Africa virtues and talents which may be compared with the grandest and most honourable actions which history records. When contemplating their high exploits, we fancy ourselves returned to the heroic ages, and the wonders of fabulous times turn pale in the presence of the recorded miracles of their history. They ennobled at the same time the name of *Europe* and that of their own nation; they disposed the inhabitants of India to bear, with less impatience, a yoke lightened by necessity, and eased by so much glory. The Portuguese, therefore, have been the nation that really introduced the Europeans into India; and they may find some compensation, in these honourable recollections, for having retained but a few wrecks in the midst of empires which they have the glory of having formed.

• The power of the Portuguese in India, the immediate work of the men whose names we have mentioned, was prepared by two wise princes, namely, John II and Emmanuel.

The first, despising the prejudices which prevailed before and in his day, and which even still prevail in too many places, was not afraid to make his capital a free port, and to open an asylum in it for all kinds of commerce and industry. He made a fresh application of astronomy to navigation; and his zeal, enlightened by the double advantage of the arts and of commerce, soon received the most valuable recompense, by the

discovery of that celebrated Cape which, at first, inspired his first adventurers with no other feeling than that of terror. While under the impression of fear they found no other name to give it than that of the "*Cape of Tempests*," the Prince, true to the inspiration of his own genius, did not hesitate to name it the **CAPE OF GOOD HOPE**, a name which it has well justified. Emmanuel sent Vasquez de Gama to India in 1497, who landed in that country after a voyage of fifteen months, full of all the dangers which unknown seas and inhospitable shores could present.

These expeditions, calculated on good and solid plans, had been preceded by some excursions on the coast of Africa, undertaken and executed in two expeditions by Norman and Portuguese pirates whom the love of plunder, without any views of an ulterior establishment, attracted to those coasts. It was about the same time that the Portuguese established themselves at Madeira, and in the group of islands which surround it. Madeira is of great importance as a place of refreshment for ships on their passage to both Indies, and for the extent of its wine trade; a taste for its wines having become general in Europe, and still more so in America.

Such is this first colony belonging to Portugal, which is very convenient to her, and puts her to little or no expense in the way of guard. The formation of a more numerous militia; the expense of a military establishment, not very compatible however with that habitual state of peace in which Portugal lives; a more vigilant government than that of the country is commonly found to be; might add very much to the value of this settlement, as well with respect to the colony itself, as to the mother country: but it is not

from the modern Portuguese that such attentions and such efforts are to be expected. By occupying Madeira they have the possession of the Canaries with the Spaniards, of those islands to which the deliciousness of their climate and productions have given the name of Fortunate.

The little archipelago of Azores, to the number of nine islands, of which Tercera is the principal, belongs to Portugal: it is the *Look-out point*, or the place of shelter, for every ship on its passage to Asia or America.

The population of these islands must amount to two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; they export to the mother country, to the Portuguese colonies, and to the north of America, produce of their own growth to the amount of four or five millions of livres. This produce might be much augmented in so favourable a climate and situation.

Further to the south, opposite Senegal, is the Portuguese colony of the Cape Verd Islands, ten in number, of which Saint Jago is the capital. This archipelago, susceptible of all the cultivation of America, is scarcely sufficient for the subsistence of a small number of inhabitants, almost all blacks. Its trade with Europe is limited to a herb (archilla) used in a scarlet dye; with America, to exporting a few cattle; and with Africa, to a small quantity of sugar, and a tolerable quantity of coarse cotton stuffs. There, as along the neighbouring shores of Africa where the Portuguese are spread, they have almost all lost the characteristic of their origin; and, by their degradation, much more resemble the vile inhabitants of these miserable shores, than the descendants of the conquerors of Africa and of Asia.

The importance of the slave trade multiplied the

~~These~~ naval superiority and every where pursued them. terly, has been nothing in com English and the Dutch, who from taking any part in this t duty of ten per cent. upon all tion so burthensome, especially Brazil, that they have extreme trade there, and have sought for places.

The negroes being the real cu the colonies, we see how importa possession of this kind of proper any obstacle in getting the hands them. The Portuguese, occupy mense extent of ground, the two is not cultivated, even in the best d require to be not in the least con procuring cultivators for it. The the only way to extend the clearing as well as to improve that which tivation; and Portugal, that stand

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of Africa, carried on the slave trade a long time without competitors, as it was important to none but them, they alone having established cultivations in America. They lost this advantage, together with their liberty, when they were robbed of it by Philip II; they lost even the trade to Brazil, when the Dutch dispossessed them of it. It is a singular spectacle to see two nations, who formerly fought at the same time against the yoke of the Spaniards, now fighting furiously against one another in the New World. Portugal still possesses, on the coast of Africa, settlements of a great extent; they reach from the eighth to the eighteenth degree of south latitude, and stretch inland in some places to the depth of an hundred leagues. There is certainly no need of mentioning that this immense space is not inhabited only by Portuguese; their right is rather that of sovereignty than of ownership and of cultivation. They reign over the chiefs of a multitude of tribes who acknowledge themselves tributaries of Lisbon, but who cannot be very formidable, since seven or eight companies of soldiers are sufficient to secure their submission. The forests of this country contain iron superior to any that is known; it was worked by the orders of a governor attentive to make the most of the advantages which belonged to the settlements entrusted to his care. This was not the only benefit he saw might be derived from them. By a very bold idea, the possibility of the execution of which cannot be vouched for, he proposed to establish a direct communication across the interior of Africa with the Portuguese settlements of Mozambique. This project was for the double object of facilitating the communication between the settlements of the nation upon the opposite coasts, and of

penetrating as far as the mines of Monomotapa. The recall of the author of this plan (M. de Souza) caused it to fall to the ground, as well as put a stop to the works which he had undertaken to realize it.

We shall seek in vain why the Portuguese neglected to form a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, which they discovered, at a place which would have served for a port to all their vessels, and have united their settlements in Africa and Asia: this negligence is inconceivable. Whatever may have been the reason of it, they had not the sense to perceive the importance of this situation; they passed a thousand times by these shores still unoccupied, and never thought of settling on them: they preferred excursions more to the east, in which voyages they discovered the islands of Bombon and of Madagascar, which also they disdained; they settled when they came to Mozambique, and occupied an extent of coast as far as Melinda, which they made the seat of their government. Such is the actual condition of their settlements upon the coasts of Africa.

It is still worse upon the coasts of Asia, which now scarcely perceive that flag which formerly ruled over them, and which, of all the European flags, appeared there the first and with the greatest glory. In fact, the dominion of the Portuguese in India extended at once over all the maritime parts of that vast continent. From the Red Sea to the Sea of Japan, this little nation alone occupied all those places for which at this time all the nations of Europe are scarcely sufficient. It ruled at the same time over the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, the vast coasts of Malabar, Ceylon, and the Moluccas; it was the first that penetrated to China or Japan; it was at once present, fighting, and ruling

over this immense extent of territories then new to Europe. The coast of Coromandel was alone exempt from its dominion; for it does not appear that the Portuguese have at any time formed important settlements there. But though chance had given them part of these possessions, chance alone was not sufficient to secure them: they felt it necessary to preserve them by a complete plan of government, and of civil and military establishments. Goa became the seat of it. This city, celebrated in the east before the arrival of the Portuguese, became still more so under their dominion; after having been taken, lost, and retaken by the great Albuquerque, it remained the centre of the Portuguese dominions in India. Its situation, excellent in itself as a city, and as a port, was still wonderfully selected to unite all the possessions of the Portuguese in India, in the very middle of which it was situated. This choice was a mark of genius, worthy of the great man who made it. In fact, Goa commands the Sea of Malabar, and the Gulf of Persia which borders upon it; it is near the Red Sea, where the Portuguese had dispossessed the Venetians; it is on the road from Europe and Africa to China, the Moluccas, and Japan; and by these means gave its possessors the facility of extending their superintendence, and carrying assistance wherever there was a necessity. Goa was moreover a necessary port, where every ship was forced to touch which was sailing from one part of India to another, from India to Africa, from India to Europe, and from Europe to India. What situation ever offered more advantages, and was better marked by nature to form the seat of a vast and durable government? In 1507, the Portuguese had begun to penetrate into the Red Sea; the busi-

THE COLONIES.

... the Venetians, to whom it served as a channel for their trade with the East, which was almost exclusively before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. At the sight of this passage, Venice perceived that the edifice of her power was overthrown, and the source of her wealth dried up. Accordingly she neglected nothing which could preserve or re-establish them: she tried to make the advantage of her empire in the Red Sea to compete that of India with the Portuguese, but it was in vain. In order to make themselves masters of the great sea, and thus to shut up all communication through it with India, they established themselves on the island of Socotora, which is the key of the Red Sea; but the aridity of the soil did not suffer them to settle there, as it has not suffered the other Europeans who have endeavoured to do so since. The English have tried it in order to close the passage to India against the French expedition in Egypt, which was opened to it by the possession of the eastern coasts of the Red Sea. Dissatisfied with this project, which did not meet the wishes of his impatience, Albuquerque ventured to strike the very centre of the Venetian power at Suez, which was the depot of their navy and their commerce. In despair of not having been able to arrive there, this man, whose ideas were of the grandest stamp, conceived a design still more fatal to Egypt itself than to Venice: for he had nothing less in his mind than to persuade the Emperor of Abyssinia to turn the course of the Nile into the Red Sea, which plan, by depriving Egypt of the river which is the cause of her fertility, would have deprived her at once of the sources of existence and of life, and, by giving her up to the sands which are incessantly

striving to invade her, would soon have confounded with Lybia that ancient country of commerce and the arts. Happily, this gigantic conception, the fruit of an animosity more ardent than deliberate, remained unexecuted, and the relinquishment of this project permits us still to reckon Egypt among the number of inhabited parts of the globe.

Albuquerque had a design much more worthy of himself in getting possession of Ormus, which gave him the command of the Gulf of Persia. This city, built by the Arabs in the eleventh century, and become the centre of the commercial transactions in the East, was at that time a most delightful and most splendid place; its situation was the cause of its power and its wealth, by rendering it the mart of the European trade with India, (a mart necessarily very considerable) at a time when the deficiency of any other passage rendered that the only one for the merchandise of India, which came to the ports of Syria, in order thence to be carried over into Europe. This expedition perfected the conquests of the Portuguese in the west of India, and left them at liberty to extend them in the east of Asia. They began methodically, and gradually advanced towards its limits.

The first object which struck them in that direction was the island of Ceylon: there they made a settlement. This was a very important conquest, on account of the extent of the island, which is eighty leagues in length and thirty in breadth, and also on account of the richness of its produce, and the advantages of its situation, at the very point of the peninsula of India, in the centre of the ocean, and of the Indian archipelago. But the genius of Albuquerque

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seems to have been asleep when he entirely overlooked the coast of Coromandel, the richest coast of India, and far superior to that of Malabar. He had it in his power to have taken at least the first fruits, and perhaps the lasting possession, of those riches which it has afforded to the French, and especially to the English. Even the two weak settlements of Saint Thomas and Negapatam were not his work. All his designs were aimed at the peninsula of Malacca, the occupation of which, joined to that of Ceylon, seemed to him to enclose the coast of Coromandel, so that he could have it at his disposal without the necessity of settling there. He finished with this conquest, the protection of which he thought would not be very expensive, because the peninsula is a narrow track of land 100 leagues in length, yet joined to the continent only in one point: for the same reason it was also susceptible of a very easy defence. In the year 1511, the important place which has given its name to the peninsula, fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and the kings of the adjacent countries courted the alliance of Portugal and the friendship of Albuquerque. After this conquest the Portuguese turned against the Molucca Islands, and made themselves masters of them: they are ten in number, the largest of them is not more than ten leagues circumference, and the others much less. Albuquerque was also the person who determined the movement of the Portuguese towards China; and it was in pursuance of his advice that the Portuguese in 1519 sent a solemn embassy to that country. After various successes and events, such as were to be expected between nations so different in their customs, between whom moreover this was the first in-

the Portuguese received, by the gift of the emperor, the town of Macao, where they are established. It soon served them as a port for their trade with Japan : that country soon became to them a source of great riches, because, through want of articles of exchange, it was obliged to pay with bullion for the balance of that which it received over the amount of its own productions. These were so few, that the Portuguese received annually from Japan the sum of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres in bullion, which came from the mines of gold and silver contained in the country.

Thus, the territorial and commercial conquests of the Portuguese in Asia extended to its very limits, and were stopped only by them. They were masters of the coast of Guinea, of Mozambique, of Arabia, of Persia, of the two peninsulas of India, of the Moluccas, and of the islands and the streight of Sunda ; and, finally, by the possession of Macao, they had secured the greatest part of the trade with China and Japan. What people, either ancient or modern, had, before that time, possessed so great an extent of territory, and drank from the sources of more abundant riches ? and, as if such great possessions were not sufficient for a nation so little proportionate to such a great extent of dominion, we see them soon after founding another empire in America, destined to become one day the mistress of her own founders, as well as to change the colony into the mother country. Brazil has performed this metamorphosis ; we can only say, as has been said before, in speaking of the parts of a state so disproportionate to each other, that Portugal had her head in Europe and her body in America. This superb possession extends from the River

— nations, and would have had complete possession of South America when, in 1499, he had arrived at Oronooko, had gone a little farther had been in less haste to return, not to lose sight of Saint Dorado, the cradle of the Spanish settlements, for Cabral to give Brazil to the world, which he himself owed the discovery of it. He singularly attended the infant geography. This navigator, driven from the coast of Africa, sailed so far out of himself, without expecting it, in a tempest forced him to put in ; he discovered a country to which, at that of those religious times, he gave the name of Croix, which has been displaced after the name it bears in that country to others, from the Italian name of dyeing which is its principal product. The Europeans immediately gave

The Portuguese have not always
of Brazil —

had paid back in India all the injuries which she had received from it in Europe. The Portuguese possessions in the Indian Sea, having fallen to Spain by the re-union of Portugal, were become the prey of the Dutch: Spain seemed to have conquered Portugal only for their advantage. They wished to derive still more from it, by going to seek their enemies even in Brazil, which was then possessed by Spain in consequence of her conquest of Portugal. This country was attacked and subdued in 1624; but the Portuguese did not leave them the enjoyment of it long: in 1626 they drove out the invaders, already weakened by the heroic resistance of the Archbishop of Saint-Salvador (Michael Teixeira), who thought he could not better employ his hand than for his country, and against the heretics.

Brazil was again subdued by the Dutch in 1637; but, as always happens when conquerors are of a distant country, and the inhabitants are equal to them in arms and willing to defend themselves, this dominion had hardly any duration, and ended as the first did. The Portuguese colonists, assisted by the nature of the country, united together in 1645, and marched against their oppressors, under the command of Veira, one of those chiefs whom nature and circumstances almost always create in critical moments. Great necessities in states have almost always given them great men: Veira attacked the Dutch, pursued them, and in opposition to the orders of his king, who was without doubt deceived by false suggestions, succeeded in driving them out of Brazil, and united for ever to Portugal, even in spite of itself, a possession destined to be its principal strength and riches. The treaty of 1661 secured this possession to Portugal by the renunciation of the Dutch, who, since that time, have

Plata to the River of the Amazons, in length in breadth 240 leagues, and containing 176,800 leagues; a surface much more considerable than occupied by Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, England, and Germany, put together.

This tract of land would have been divided among these nations, and would have given them complete possession of South America, if Cabral, when, in 1499, he had arrived at the mouth of the Oronooko, had gone a little further southward, and had been in less haste to return to the north, not to lose sight of Saint Domingo, which was the cradle of the Spanish settlements. It was for Cabral to give Brazil to the Portuguese: he himself owed the discovery of it to a chance singularly attended the infancy of navigational geography. This navigator, dreading the calm coast of Africa, sailed so far out to sea, that he found himself, without expecting it, in sight of a land where a tempest forced him to put in; in flying from the coast he discovered a country to which, according to the custom of those religious times, he gave the name of Terra da Cruz, which has been displaced by that of Terra do Brasil, after the name it bears in that country; or, as to others, from the Italian name of a wood used for dyeing which is its principal produce, and thus the Europeans immediately gave the preference to the latter.

The Portuguese have not always had quiet possession of Brazil: the French soon attempted to settle there, but they did it with a levity which, there as elsewhere, has often hindered their success. The Dutch, next, and brought there that constancy and perseverance which are the characteristics of their nation. Holland had then shook off the yoke of Sp

The revenue of Brazil, which must be considered under many heads, cannot amount to less than. . . . 100,000,000 liv.
 In 1775 it amounted to 75,000,000 liv.
 under the following accounts.

1. Duties reserved to government, and the monopoly 18,773,930 liv.
2. The produce of the wines exported to Portugal 25,312,500 liv.
3. The produce of the diamond mines 3,432,000 liv.

By which it appears that these mines, so much boasted of, are a property more brilliant than productive.

Produce exported to the mother country, above. 25,000,000 liv.

This sum must have been greatly increased latterly, as cultivation has been extended. It is with this produce, and that of some of the productions of the soil, that Portugal balanced her imports, amounting to sixty millions of livres, which her want of industry and agriculture still obliged her to receive from foreigners. She drew this enormous sum from the colony, in return for commodities of the value of fifteen millions of livres, half of which were the productions of her own soil or industry.

Besides the exports to Portugal, Brazil exports in her own vessels articles to the amount of five or six millions of livres to the coasts of Africa, to the Azores, and to Madeira, in return for wines, slaves, and other articles of consumption which she has need of.

The inhabitants of Brazil, and particularly those of

Rio Janeiro, are all engaged in foreign trade, very different from the inhabitants of South America, who remained passive in all commercial concerns, and, to the very moment of their independence, confined themselves to receiving every thing, without exporting any thing on their own account.

Brazil was for some time the Botany Bay of Portugal; every year two or three ships were sent over with malefactors and other persons who disturbed the peace of their own country. Europe has very often made this use of her colonies, which were considered as common sinks, before they were discovered to be sources of wealth.

The Inquisition transported the Jews there, who were fortunate enough to escape being burned. A great number of these unfortunate people, who were driven from Portugal by the persecution which was customary in those times, sought an asylum in Brazil; and this people, true there, as every where else, to their active and laborious disposition, were the first who began to cultivate the colony; which is indebted to them for its first harvests, as Europe is for the vehicle of its commerce, bills of exchange, originating from that persecution, which seems by oppressing a man only to render him more industrious, and to add to his facilities as much as it endeavours to take away from his liberties. The Portuguese, taught by the example of the Jews, began to feel the value of their new possession; from that time the government applied themselves to it, and endeavoured to make it valuable; but being unequal to the performance, they called upon the first men in the nation each to take upon themselves the management of a certain extent of land which was granted to them, reserving only the royal

rights. Spain, England, and France have done the same thing, in granting provinces and whole islands to private persons.

Brazil, from its extent and from the richness of its soil, might be the most flourishing colony, or, I might almost say, the most opulent empire in the world. Gold and diamonds are produced there; every kind of agriculture, from the richest to the most common, thrives in its soil; cochineal has been brought there, and has succeeded; the sugar cane has been transplanted there from Madeira with equal success; indigo, cotton, tobacco, and a thousand other productions, spring up there in every part of the surface of the land, ready for the hand of the labourer. If the small number of those who now farm it are already sufficient to obtain immense wealth from a country, the surface of which has hardly been touched by cultivation, and where two thirds even of the banks of the great rivers are yet uncultivated, what would not it yield with a population proportionate to its extent and fertility!

Thus, when Lisbon was swallowed up, and Portugal quivered with the shocks which had overthrown the capital, and the King was afraid that he should have to reign only over the ruins or the gulfs of his country, it was towards Brazil that the judicious Pombal turned his views, and projected the design of transferring the monarch and the seat of empire. This probably is the first truly grand and just idea which an European has conceived with respect to the colonies of his country; this idea is, we may say, a prognostic of the conduct which Europe must pursue, and that from which originated the determination taken by the present king of Portugal, the consequences of which we will point out hereafter.

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The revenue of Brazil, which must be considered under many heads, cannot amount to less than. . . . 100,000,000 liv.

In 1775 it amounted to 75,000,000 liv.
under the following accounts.

1. Duties reserved to government, and the monopoly 18,773,930 liv.

2. The produce of the wines exported to Portugal 25,312,500 liv.

3. The produce of the diamond mines 3,432,000 liv.

By which it appears that these mines, so much boasted of, are a property more brilliant than productive.

Produce exported to the mother country, above. 25,000,000 liv.

This sum must have been greatly increased latterly, as cultivation has been extended. It is with this produce, and that of some of the productions of the soil, that Portugal balanced her imports, amounting to sixty millions of livres, which her want of industry and agriculture still obliged her to receive from foreigners. She drew this enormous sum from the colony, in return for commodities of the value of fifteen millions of livres, half of which were the productions of her own soil or industry.

Besides the exports to Portugal, Brazil exports in her own vessels articles to the amount of five or six millions of livres to the coasts of Africa, to the Azores, and to Madeira, in return for wines, slaves, and other articles of consumption which she has need of.

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knowledge, happier than the Indians by whom he is surrounded, enjoys perfect freedom; he owes this precious advantage to the decree which the government made in his favour in 1757. He was then declared free, and this excellent decree at one stroke put an end to the variations which, for three centuries, had tormented a whole nation with respect to their condition.

The Jesuits renewed in Brazil the attempts at civilization which they had tried in Paraguay. The military and civil government of Brazil is entirely copied from that of Portugal; it is an exact repetition of every thing in the mother country.

RECAPITULATION.

The Portuguese had extended their dominion from the coast of Guinea to that of Japan; they were never really established in the Philippine Islands, notwithstanding the disputed and transitory cession of them by Charles V. They possessed the eastern coasts of Africa, the coasts of the Red Sea, of Arabia, of the two peninsulas of India, Ceylon, and the Moluccas; they had a footing in China and in Japan; and they possessed Brazil. What now remains then of such great possessions? In Asia, Macao, Damaun, Diu, and Goa; on the east of Africa, Mozambique; in the west of Africa, some factories on the Guinea coast, the Cape-Verd Islands, and Madeira; and in America, Brazil.

Portugal, fallen to this state of decay in ruin, between the remembrance of its past greatness and the feeling of its actual weakness, might apply to itself the words which Saladin caused to be proclaimed at his

last moments by the herald who carried his shroud ;
“ This is all which remains for the great Saladin, the
conqueror of Syria and of Egypt.”

CHAP. III.

The Dutch Colonies.

THE existence of colonies already formed, and of places fit to form others in, was sufficient to make the Dutch wish to partake in the advantages which they perceived that other nations derived from their colonies ; in fact, could any source of riches exist, which was not destined to be enjoyed by a nation that had itself forced from nature every thing which she had given bountifully to others ? Its privations have served as incentives, and its efforts and its success have been proportionate to its difficulties. Its territory was enclosed within the most narrow limits : but the Dutch extended those limits over the sea, and fixed their dwellings where they had driven back the waves. Their soil is susceptible but of a very limited cultivation, and yields very small harvests ; but they cultivate the waves, and furrow the ocean ; and obtain from its bosom crops which their hands have not had the trouble of sowing : they have no fields, and yet the granaries of the universe are within their walls ; they have no forests, yet all those of Europe are felled for them, and brought together, and worked in their yards ; they have no mines, and yet are the general dealers in the gold and silver of the whole world. Finally, without

possessing any thing of their own, they make their country the mart of all that is possessed by others, and are the general agents in every transaction: such are the wonderful effects of industry, sobriety, patience, and all the virtues of economy, which seem from partiality to have fixed their abode among the Dutch! Though these effects are astonishing, they proceed from causes which are not less so; they are the just recompense of the most wonderful labours. With such dispositions, the Dutch could not fail of becoming a colonial nation, and of establishing colonies in every place where it could be of benefit to their immense commerce: in forming these settlements they calculated their abilities with respect to territory and population, and were regulated by them; in order, by this means, to obtain the greatest possible advantages at the least expense. Far then from seizing every object which fell in their way, as almost all the other nations of Europe have done, who immediately invaded every place, as if they could not have land enough, the Dutch established colonies upon a methodical plan, which has necessarily contributed to their success; and in the disposition of their settlements, we cannot help remarking that spirit of method and arrangement which regulates all the conceptions of this wise people: thus the Dutch colonies were better proportionate to the mother country than any of those which belonged to the other nations of Europe.

As the Dutch did not possess large colonies in the West Indies, they did not require a large number of slaves: in their Asiatic colonies, cultivators, either slaves or freemen, were found upon the spot: thus Holland had but very small settlements upon the coast of Africa. She struggled there a long while with the

Portuguese, the English, and especially with the French, in the long wars between Louis XIV and King William. The result of these various contests has been the reducing the Dutch trade to seven or eight thousand negroes, sent to the West Indies, either for the Dutch colonies, or for those of other nations. This trade was carried on by an exclusive company, which, acting in the same manner there as those companies do every where, received the same reward; that of a total ruin in 1730. Freedom has taken the place of it in this trade, and it is this which keeps it at the height at which it is at this present time.

Two causes, in appearance diametrically opposite, have contributed in causing the Dutch to turn their views towards colonies. Philip II persecuted them, and Philip had invaded Portugal. How did this cause it? They, considering the Portuguese only as the subjects of their tyrant, and considering their spoils as those of their most cruel enemy, began to range over the seas in pursuit of the Portuguese, and to attack the coasts which they had occupied for upwards of a century: thus tyranny there also produced its effect; that of extending liberty, and working in its behalf. It was exactly an hundred years after Vasquez de Gama had been sent to India, that the Dutch appeared there for the first time; and, what is very remarkable, the Dutch, like their enemies the Portuguese, passed by the Cape of Good Hope, still unoccupied, during sixty years, without thinking of settling there. That all the people of Europe should have made the same omission, is a great and a fair subject of astonishment: a simple surgeon of a vessel saw that which had escaped the eyes of so many civil

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and military chiefs, and supplied the defect of their long inattention. He so well pointed out the importance of this position, that at length, in 1630, they determined to form a settlement there. The Dutch, as a reward, confided the care of it to this same Van-kisbek, the projector of the plan, very certain, moreover, of securing the success of it, by joining thus the execution and the conception, an essential point which is not enough attended to, and the omission of which causes so many enterprises to fail, since people with sufficient skill, or sufficient honesty, to execute the plans of another, well and with fidelity, are very rare indeed.

The Dutch, by their settlement at the Cape, were masters of the point of Africa, and of all the extent of coast which they might wish to take, and by that means found themselves able to command the road to all the European settlements in India. The Cape became at once the point of division and of junction between Europe and Asia. The Dutch have established a complete empire there, at least every thing which can contribute to form one: for their possessions in the interior of the country are almost unlimited; the cultivated lands already extend far more than an hundred leagues; and there is nothing to hinder their being extended as far as may be wished.

Cape Town is the capital, and even the only considerable place in the colony; it contains only 15,000 European inhabitants; the slaves amount to the number of 50,000, and receive a better treatment than in the other Colonies. The natives, who are reduced to a very small number by the great epidemical disease which raged there in 1713, dwell in the interior of the country, and are a pastoral people, and consequently

not at all numerous. The most fertile lands of the colony are up the country; for the Cape is surrounded only by barren plains. All the productions of Europe have thrived there; and the Constantia wine, which is made from the grape transplanted from Persia, has shared, with the most celebrated wine in the world, the taste and approbation of all connoisseurs; it grows only upon a farm of sixteen acres: the other wines, although transplanted from Madeira, are of an inferior quality, and are scarcely ever exported from the colony.

If we are astonished and grieved at the weakness of a settlement so advantageously situated, we must lay it to the fault of the India Company, who are the persons that formed it. For the odious and absurd purpose of shutting up the road to India by discouragement, in default of force, the Company checks the prosperity of the colony, and endeavours to render it at first sight discouraging to strangers. Such a system is certainly the very corruption of the exclusive system itself; that is to say, of the worst thing in the world. On the contrary, the Cape should have been made a free port, and an open haven for the ships of the whole world; every possible inducement should have been held out to invite and fix people there: the contrary, in every thing, has been done; and what is more offensive is, that the Dutch, who have made their own country the seat of commercial liberty, have made the Cape the seat of slavery. The unfortunate colonists, who can only receive their supplies from the Company, receive but a small quantity, and at an immense price, and see their interests constantly sacrificed in these partial dealings; thus they live in an almost absolute want of all the commodities of life, and of those arti-

cles which, under a free trade, they could receive from foreigners.

It was in pursuit of the Portuguese that the Dutch first entered India; and in order to go through the list of their conquests, we need only run over the long line of Portuguese settlements, which they invaded successively, and step by step.

The Dutch landed in India, for the first time, in 1595, under the command of Cornelius Houteman, who obtained from his fellow countrymen the command of four vessels, with which he revenged their injuries, and his own imprisonment at Lisbon.

The first settlements of the Dutch were formed in the island of Java, in 1602, which afterwards became the centre of their dominion in India. In 1624 they settled at Formosa, a large island, 130 leagues in circumference, which the revolutions in China had rendered prosperous by an immense number of emigrants, to whom it served for an asylum. The island has lost almost all its importance by the cessation of the trade to Japan, and by the shackles, equivalent to prohibitions, which have been laid upon the trade with China. The Portuguese were in joint possession with the Spaniards of the Molucca Islands. The Dutch took them from both in 1621; and from that time have neglected nothing which could secure to themselves the fruits and produce of these valuable possessions; they have taken every precaution to share them with nobody, and to be always the masters of the price. At Ternate and at Tidore, they totally carried away all the nutmeg-trees and clove-trees, for which they make amends to the pusillanimous princes by an annual salary: they have concentrated the cultivation

of the clove-trees in the island of Amboyna, and that of nutmegs in the three islands of Banda. Amboyna has been planted like a garden. By a law, made in 1725, 4,000 farms have each received 125 clove-trees, which brings the whole number to 500,000. The clove-tree yields two pounds of cloves; so that the whole crop is 1,000,000 lb. In these islands the Dutch watch even the natural fertility, and repress it with as much care as it is in other places incited; every year commissioners, taking advantage of the regular calms, go over the spice islands, and root out those shoots which nature has dared to throw up without their consent.

The Dutch settlements in Tidore and Celebes were established in 1618: the former of these islands is large, but poor; the latter, which is thirty leagues in diameter, is more useful to the Dutch trade; and it also is the key to the other spice islands.

Borneo, the largest island in the world, yields to the Dutch 600,000 lb. of pepper, at an advantageous price. They have no settlement there: after having formed one at Sumatra, they equally restricted the trade, which procured them a great quantity of pepper and tin. They acted at Malacca in the same manner: after placing great importance in driving the Portuguese out of this peninsula, and in taking the capital, they have in the end felt how useless this possession is, since the discovery of the new passages of Bali and Lamboa, which have taken away the necessity of going through that of Malacca, as well as through the Straits of Sunda. Ceylon fell into their power in 1650, by the entire expulsion of the Portuguese, against whom the Dutch united with the

natives of the country, who had risen against the government of the former. This island is in shape almost oval, in length seventy leagues, the same in breadth, and about two hundred in circumference; it contains excellent harbours, and produces a valuable crop of cinnamon, precious stones, though but of an inferior quality, pepper, and of arrack and betle, which are used so much by all the inhabitants of the East. It is upon the coasts of this island that they fish for pearls, the produce of which, as also of the diamond, is far from equal to the ideas which are formed of these rich gifts of nature. This fishery, although free, does not yield more than 200,000 livres.

The Dutch have factories, rather than settlements, properly so called, on the coasts of Coromandel and Orissa; they are six in number, of which that at Negapatam is the chief. The Dutch stripped the Portuguese of many places on the coast of Malabar, in 1633, of which Cochin is the principal; but these possessions are not of great use to them. It is at Java, and its capital of Batavia, that we must look for the Dutch empire in India; that island is the St. Domingo of Holland.

It is nearly two hundred leagues long, and between thirty and forty broad; it is divided into many small kingdoms, the greater part of which are allies or tributaries of the Dutch.

The city of Batavia, which is built entirely in the modern Dutch style, resembles, in the regularity of its lines and ornaments, the cities of the mother country; it contains a population of 10,000 whites, and of 150,000 slaves; and about 200,000 Chinese perform part of the work of the colony. Unfortunately the climate is deadly to such a degree as to have caused a loss

of 87,000 sailors and soldiers, who have died in the hospitals between the years 1714 and 1776, a space of only sixty-two years. Thus the Dutch, in case of attack, rely more upon the dreadful assistance of the climate, than even upon the fortifications with which they have taken care to surround the city. This great city is the seat of the Dutch government in India, the mart of their commerce, the rendezvous of their fleets, and the centre of their military force, both by land and sea. The expenses of the colony amount, in time of peace, to 8,000,000 livres, which the taxes alone could not cover. Among the taxes is to be noticed one upon gaming, the periodical return of which, at Batavia, is marked by a frenzy and madness far surpassing that which, but too often, is excited by it in the great cities of Europe. The Dutch, after having been exempt for some years from the proscription which exists against all Christians throughout the whole of Japan, submitted to remain in the artificial island of Dezima, which is, in fact, their prison. They purchased very trifling profits by submission and most revolting behaviour, and by still more disgusting devices.

They have no settlement in China, and their commercial transactions with that country are extremely limited.

The soil of the Moluccas, of those islands which, on account of their valuable productions, have been called the gold mines of the Dutch, is the most ungrateful in the world; their barrenness is only atoned for by the richness of their productions, which nature seems to have placed in such a soil, as though she wished to bring extremes together.

Banda is the only island where the Dutch are the

owners of the land. They have become so by the cruel expedient of exterminating the whole of the natives, on the pretext of their being too much inclined to revolt, and of an untameable ferocity. In some places the Dutch have set the example of attaching the natives to agriculture, by granting or selling them land.

They share the sovereignty of the Moluccas with the kings of the islands, whom they either make friends of, or rule over, according to the degree of their power, or of their cunning.

All the Dutch settlements in India are dependent upon the supreme government at Batavia. The council of Batavia has the management of the whole civil, military, and commercial establishments, and is itself subordinate to the general directory in Holland, composed of the directors of the six chambers of commerce.

The Dutch Colonies in India are not the immediate property of the nation, which only participates in them through the general business produced in it by a great commerce; the nation has given up its rights to the India Company, which is the sovereign both by right and in fact. The ancients had no idea of this kind of sovereignty, exercised by a body standing in the place of the nation, and at the same time a sovereign and a subject. The moderns have realized this phenomenon; and the Dutch, and also the English, have put it into execution upon a grand scale.

The Dutch Company was formed nearly at the time of the first Dutch settlements; this was in 1602, a time when they had only just made their appearance in India; what is very remarkable is, that the same company has always, since the origin of the Dutch

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leagues. The colonists live in an almost habitual state of warfare against the negro tribes, who dwell in the midst of impenetrable forests, which contests thwart the progress of cultivation at Surinam : they have been sometimes obliged to oppose European troops to them, even without obtaining great success.

Berbice, which was established in 1626, after having passed through various proprietors, has fallen into a great state of weakness.

Essequibo and Demerary are of much more value. The latter contained, even in 1769, 130 houses on very valuable farms ; the number is increased already, and must increase with time upon the very fertile banks of the rivers.

The Dutch possessions in the West Indies will not detain us long. In fact, what can be said of little islands, which are for the most part barren rocks destitute of earth and of inhabitants, points almost lost in the vast archipelago of the West Indies, and the produce of which is scarcely sufficient to freight a few vessels to the mother country. In this light, these islands are of very little importance ; but they are much more so with respect to the trade they carry on with the surrounding islands, which is assisted by the singular disposition of the European possessions in the West Indies ; they lie so intermixed, and are so unequal in point of riches, that the colonists are constantly upon the defensive towards each other. Moreover, as each nation has the exclusive trade to her own colony, those who have small possessions are always endeavouring to live at the expense of those who have greater, and by means of very active smuggling to share the advantages which the latter wish to keep exclusively to themselves ; consequently these have to be continually

defending themselves against the traps which the others are laying for them. What contests this produces between such opposite interests may be easily conceived. The Dutch are very favourably situated to profit by this conflict: for, on one side, they nearly touch the Spanish continent by means of the island of Curaçoa, which is distant from it only ten leagues; this island they took from the Spaniards in 1626: on the other side, by means of St. Eustatia, they are able to trade clandestinely with all their neighbours in the West Indies. This part is the asylum for every thing that can be purloined from the monopoly exercised in each island; it is the centre of all smuggling transactions; in a word, it is the exchange of the West Indies, as Amsterdam is of Holland. In time of war between France and England, this mart was much increased in importance; it then became the rendezvous of the subjects of the belligerent nations, who there forgot the quarrels of their country, and substituted in their place the more profitable transactions of commerce.


Colonies of this kind are entirely clear profit to those who possess them; there is nothing to be lost and every thing to be gained from their more opulent neighbours. We shall hereafter speak more of the convenience of these sort of colonies.

CHAP. IV.

British Colonies.

IF Cæsar could come back again into the world, what would not be his astonishment at finding the descen-

dants of the savage Picts, the only inhabitants of those islands which Rome considered as the limits of the world, and who then were not even in the possession of a boat, now masters of the whole sea, ruling from Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Ganges, and reigning at once in two worlds of the existence of which he could not have had the least idea ! The sight of him who fills his place in the Capitol could not astonish him more. In fact, how can we restrain our own surprise at the sight of the immense possessions which England holds in America and in Asia, which form, not only colonies, but great and rich empires ; and in looking at the singular kind of government which England has given to one part of these valuable possessions ? For, though they belong to the body of the nation, they are not managed and enjoyed by her ; but only by an infinitely small part, formed into an association exclusive of the rest of the nation ; sovereigns in India, subjects in England, and sharing with their own sovereign the honours, expenses, and profits of the colonial sovereignty. The great prosperity which has been enjoyed by the English settlements, and by their mother country through their means, will, during the whole of their existence, show the effects of a system which has been always followed, that of irresistible dominion by means of naval superiority, and true principles of colonization, and of the relative importance of colonies with respect to the mother country. It will thus be seen how a nation can lose immense colonies without being shook by their separation ; and, what is still more, how she is able to be a gainer by the loss, an event which gives at once the solution of an important problem, and points out the principles which ought to decide the fate of colonies. Great lessons



are then to be learned from the great examples which will be shown in the examination we are going to make of the colonies of England, that rich and superb property which is an hundred times the value of the building of which it is the decoration !
 In order to make with regularity this analysis and review of the colonial riches of England, we shall confine ourselves to the plan observed in the foregoing chapters, a plan which we also intend to keep to in those which follow. In this manner, by conducting the reader successively over all the points occupied by this celebrated people, we shall make the tour of their vast settlements, that is to say, of almost the whole world, beginning at the coasts of Africa, and returning across the seas of Asia and America towards this flourishing island, which has become the capital of so many countries, and the sovereign of so many nations.

The first appearance of the English on the coasts of Africa was in 1550: they found the Portuguese and Dutch settled there, and already, especially the former, in the full possession of the slave trade. The Dutch threw every possible obstacle in their way, which their right of priority and their settlements already formed rendered easy to them: this contest lasted till the peace of Breda, which irrevocably put an end to it, by settling the rights of each. The English had still to struggle with the French upon these coasts, whom they were encountering and fighting every where. These two nations, destined like Rome and Carthage to an opposition at all times and in all places, began all their wars by an attack upon the settlements of the other in Africa, which, as they were the nearest, were always the first attacked; they have been taken and

retaken, destroyed and re-established a thousand times. The peace of 1763 confirmed the superiority of the English upon the coast of Africa; who being masters of the three rivers of Senegal, Gambia, and Benin, and of other places upon the coast, were able to make their trade as large as that of the other nations engaged in the same commerce. It employed more than two hundred vessels, and eighteen thousand men. Liverpool and Lancaster were the most concerned in this trade of all the cities in England, the success of which has raised these towns from the last to the first rank of commercial towns in England.

The English had no other settlements in Africa, before they got possession of the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France.

At the time of the French expedition to Egypt, the English made a survey, rather than took possession of, the Island of Socotara, which commands the strait of Babelmandel, in order to be ready to watch their enemies, if they should endeavour to open for themselves a passage to India. But this island is entirely destitute of water; and this inconvenience, which had already driven away the Portuguese and other Europeans, will always be an obstacle to any durable settlement which shall be attempted to be formed there.

St. Helena, situate at nearly an equal distance from Africa and America, has lost its importance by the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France. It is a rock thirty miles in circumference, with an ungrateful soil and a very bad cultivation, which is much thwarted by the propagation of the devouring animals brought there by the ships. The peach tree is the only one of all the

plants transplanted from Europe, which has succeeded, and been able to resist the climate: St. Helena yields to England 30,000, and costs 1,700,000 francs.*

The English were a long while before they went to Asia; and it is worthy of remark that the nation which was destined to rule there almost exclusively, and to displace all the other nations of Europe, arrived there the last: it is however the fact. The English, under the command of Drake and of Cavendish, had already sailed round the world, and were not in possession of an inch of land in Asia. Powerful empires, however, had been already founded there by the Portuguese and the Dutch, which were destined to receive from the hands of the English a treatment similar to that which the former had experienced from the latter. It was in the face of these nations, in competition and consequently in opposition to them, and in places already occupied, that the English had to establish themselves, with hardly any forces, and with no support, in a country where they had no personal possessions, and no connexions with the inhabitants. Very far were they then from possessing an actual dominion. However so many disadvantages were not able to stop the association which was formed in London, in 1600, with a very small capital, and an armament of four ships under the command of Lancaster. The first settlements were made in Java, Banda, Amboyna, and the other spice islands, which the Dutch had appropriated exclusively to themselves. The latter, after having turned out the Portuguese, did not quietly permit these new comers to establish themselves; and either by force or by artifice they at last expelled

* Say.

them ; and since that time the English have been entirely excluded from them.

The English had got a footing upon the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel before the year 1612, at which time they were able to defend themselves at Surat against the attacks of the Dutch. They then got possession of the trade to the Persian Gulf, by means of the impression which their courage made upon Shah Abbas the emperor of Persia. They enjoyed this trade until the time of the dissensions in their own country, which so much occupied them that they were unable to make any opposition to the united attacks of the Portuguese and Dutch, from whom the haughty Cromwell never received the satisfaction, in honour or in profit, which he was able to have demanded.

The trade with India revived, increased, and prospered until the year 1657. But the profits of the Company having excited the cupidity of the other English merchants ; and it being very badly supported by Charles II, after having received from the Dutch outrages which remained unpunished, and after having committed impudent and shameful violence against the monarch of Hindostan, and having suffered great losses and committed great injustice, the Company felt a general opposition rise against it throughout the nation, and had for its defence nothing but the protection of the court, which in such cases is always feeble. Its cause was solemnly pleaded before parliament, which refused it its support, and granted it to its competitors ; so that England for some time had two India Companies. They had the good sense to unite in 1702 ; and, since this junction, the Company has gone on from one success to another, until it has

arrived at that degree of height and opulence which makes it the richest and most powerful commercial association that has ever existed, as well as master of territorial and commercial property much larger than the greater part of the known empires.

The chief of this commercial property is the trade of the Red Sea, which, lying between Asia and Africa, is the canal which serves for transmission of goods from one continent to the other.

The Portuguese had very much repressed the activity of the trade carried on by the Arabs in this sea. The English have taken a very large share in it; and it was very natural that a nation which extended and strengthened its empire in Asia, should endeavour to extend it in the same proportion on the Red Sea: that the English commerce increases there every day, and already exceeds that of all the other European nations put together. Jedda and Mocha are the places where the English vessels from India bring the articles which are required for the consumption of Egypt and Arabia.

Coffee, as is well known, forms the chief branch of this trade. It passes through the two ports of Jedda and Mocha; the caravans and the Europeans take away the best part.

The first coffee was brought to London in 1652. It reached Paris later, and did not get into great favour till the time of the Turkish embassy, which was sent to Louis XIV.

The English carry on a great trade in the Red Sea, and also in Egypt, under the protection of the favourable articles in the treaty, entered into between the Beys of Egypt and Hastings, the Governor of India, in the year 1775; it is in the benefit which England

ives from this treaty, that we must look for the means of the interest she took in restoring Egypt to the Roman government.

The territorial property of the English in India comprises almost all this country, from the Indus to the frontiers of Nepal, and beyond the Ganges. An immense chain of mountains bound these territories; another runs up through the middle of nearly the whole peninsula, divides it into two zones, and separates the two coasts of Malabar and Coromandel.

Bombay is the chief seat of the civil and military government on the Malabar coast; Madras, on the east of Coromandel. England was a long while ago expected to aim at the possession of the whole peninsula of India. No project could be more attracting; every thing seemed to invite England to realize it: she was then in the possession of the two coasts, extending in a parallel direction from the southern extremity, Cape Cormorin, to the great rivers, the Indus and the Ganges; thus the English had established themselves more firmly than the other European nations had ever done, who, confining themselves to the coasts, and almost to the edges, of the lands which they discovered, had never penetrated into the interior. The sudden end of the war with Tippoo Sultan, and the war which has given them all the European settlements in India, have afforded England the opportunity of performing this object of her vast ambition. By means of the possession of Mysore, the settlements on the two coasts communicate with each other. The Mahrattas, deprived of assistance in the interior, are no longer dangerous rivals; and though they continue to be enemies, they have

ceased to be the counterpoise of the English power in India. The extent of the English territories in India amounts to 50,000 square leagues. The territories of her allies, or tributaries, to 33,000; making a total of 83,000 square leagues of twenty-five to a degree.

The population immediately subject to England amounts to 30,000,000.

That of her allies, or tributaries, to 17,000,000.

Total, 47,000,000 inhabitants.

England has had the art of making use of the Indians in keeping their own country in obedience, and in defending her against external enemies, whether Europeans or Asiatics. For this purpose, the English have raised an army in that country, composed of natives, known by the name of Sepoys: they have incorporated them in their ranks; and, after having bent them to their discipline, they have employed them to make the others bend to their obedience. The undertaking was dangerous and bold, but has completely succeeded: it is this army which fights for the English, conquers for them, and keeps guard for the defence of India.

It is composed of 17,000 English troops paid by the Company.

And of 140,000 Indian troops, commanded by 3,000 English officers.

Moreover, the Company employs 25,000 sailors.

The revenue of India are of two kinds: those arising from the sovereignty and those from commerce.

The revenues from the sovereignty amount to 18,000,000*l.* sterling.

The expenses of government, of defence, of

maintenance of the settlements, and the interest of the debt, which amounts to 46,000,000 sterling, swallow up the sum of 19,000,000 sterling.

So that there is a deficiency of 979,223*l.* sterling, or 23,000,000 of francs.

The profits of the trade from 1807

to 1810, amounted to the mode-

rate sum of 1,728,958*l.*

or. 41,000,000 fs.

From which we must deduct the de-

ficiency 22,000,000 fs.

Also the annuities which the Com-

pany receives from the Bank 900,000 fs.

The net produce is reduced to 18,000,000 fs.

We must observe that these calculations are made on four years favourable to the trade of the Company, and there are not wanting enlightened men in England who dispute these results, and who maintain that the receipts of the trade do not even cover the deficiency arising from the expenses of the sovereignty. So that this dominion is more brilliant than lucrative, and more a subject of envy than worthy of being its object.

By the treaties made at the termination of the war, the trade to India has undergone modifications, advantageous to commerce in general, and particularly to the British subjects.

The monopoly of the Company has been confined to the tea trade, and to the direct transactions with China. It alone has the right of dealing with this vast country. The rest of India is open to the three kingdoms. They have lately even taken off, in the behalf of the United States, certain prohibitions, which formerly kept the traders of that power away from India.

THE COLONIES.

The first English settlement in the West Indies was made at St. Christopher's, in the year 1625. By an odd chance, the French arrived there the very same year as their rivals. In order to avoid the difficulties of deciding to which it belonged, as the Europeans, by their colonial code as well as by the civil law, have generally assigned the ownership according to the right of priority, it was agreed that the island should be divided between the two nations: this curious agreement had the effect which was naturally to be expected between people accustomed to be every where fighting with each other. Fortune declared for the English, who drove the French out in 1702; and her decrees were confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. The sugar of St. Christopher's is reckoned the finest in the New World.

Barbadoes, which was given in 1627 to the Earl of Carlisle by Charles II, is seven leagues long, from two to five broad, and eighteen in circumference. It obtained, in the space of forty years, a degree of prosperity quite unheard of, for its population amounted to 100,000 souls; which, except in some great cities of Europe, has certainly never happened in any other place. In 1804 it contained 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 16,000 were white. Antigua is of no importance either with respect to commerce or to territory; but, to make amends for that, it is of very great importance in a military respect, as it is the arsenal of the English colonies, and the rendezvous of the fleets of England, whether they are for the purpose of protecting her own colonies, or of attacking those of other nations.

But of all the English colonies, the most important, and the one which has the pre-eminence in rank and

iches, (and the latter always regulates the former,) is without doubt Jamaica. Columbus discovered it in 1494; it is in length forty-four leagues, and in breadth about sixteen. The son of Columbus established the Spaniards there in 1509; the English drove them out in 1655.

Their first colonists were 3,000 soldiers, of those fanatics whom Cromwell had armed, were those whom time, distance from the scenes which had enflamed their imaginations, different objects, and different anxieties, metamorphosed into men of a different stamp, and made them as good husbandmen as the revolutionary enthusiasm had made them savage, but brave soldiers.

The code of the island is dated from 1680; it enjoys the advantage of many regulations favourable to agriculture. The sugar-cane was carried there by the Portuguese in 1668. It was made a free port in 1769, a very profitable speculation for her, on account of that double neighbourhood which she enjoyed, namely, that of the Continent and of the Spanish islands; a neighbourhood of which she has profited in such a manner, as very frequently to excite the complaints of Spain, and force her to change the order in which her ships returned, substituting register ships in the place of galleons.

The English have been long in possession of St. Lucia, which was ceded to France by the peace of 1783. It has been restored to England by the peace of Paris in 1814. Her intention cannot be mistaken in re-entering upon a point which cannot be of any immediate utility to her; it could not have been any other than that of nullifying the arsenal which France has established at Martinique: the neighbourhood of

1638, was ceded to England. France in 1778, and restored whom it remains.

Tobago, Saint Vincent, and the other mentioned declared a free port islands : their soils are poor, and

The tobacco crops are what Saint Vincent.

The Dutch were in possession of the trade of the English Colonies : but the Revolution deprived them of that in 1651. Since that time England states, reserved to herself exclusive commerce and the victualling trade of

They enjoy the advantages of a constitution modeled after that of the mother country. The government is in their own hands, and near the government in England.

When the English established colonies in America, they found the French in Canada, in the North ; and the Spanish in the South, in Florida. There

blishments had acquired sufficient consistence to be adequate to their own support, then they thought of giving them additional extent, and that complement which was to result from the conquest of the two parts which seem to form their wings. They succeeded in consequence, as well of their great success in the seven years' war, as by the peace of 1763:

Those two acquisitions gave them the full and entire disposal of all the eastern coast of North America, in which they found themselves as firmly established as the Spaniards are on the western coast of South America.

Florida, in fact, seems a dismemberment of the United States, from its position at the extreme point of that coast which they occupy. This state, being hemmed in on the north by the United States, on the west by the Apalachian mountains, the common barrier between the United States and Florida, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the Ocean, appears to be a continuation of the United States, their necessary completion, and seem to have been given to them by nature, so as to belong to them, rather than to Spain. For which reason Florida will always be the object of the wishes and intrigues of the United States, until it be joined to them, as it happens with all those enclosures which are so extremely commodious to other states, that they never cease endeavouring to get possession of them, and in the end inevitably accomplish it. What the English have done is a pledge of what the United States will do. The latter, even before they got possession of Louisiana, made their first advances by forcing a passage in the rear of Florida.

England did not long enjoy that aggrandizement

... from the north
States to Hudson's-Bay ; and
The first part of those pos-
sessed in the west, by the
on the east by the ocean ;
Scotia. It has an extent of
The French established them-
selves in 1602, and gave it the name
which it kept.

The neighbourhood of New
foundland to its tranquillity, but they were
restored to it by the peace of Utrecht. Till
the middle of the last century the
the trouble to fortify and cultivate
Halifax has become a place of some
importance. Its commerce
should increase with the progress
of agriculture, which contains the means with
the excellence of its pastures, and from
its position adapted to the cultivation of
the sea, its happy position for the cod
fishery, vessels can make seven voyages
to the land make two.

The second part of the
English Canada. This country

Canada might, perhaps, have prospered from that time, were it not for the exclusive companies which ruined it; they were replaced by an association which, though numerous and supported by all the favours of government, nevertheless had no success.

• The English always had a design upon Canada; for even as far back as 1629, they took it from France, and would have kept it too from that time, were it not for the courage of Cardinal Richelieu, who exerted the known obstinacy of his character to have it restored to France, in 1631.

Canada is destined by its position to become a competitor with America, in the provision trade of the Antilles, and has done every thing to carry it on with advantage: corn succeeds there wonderfully well; immense pastures rear a great quantity of cattle and of horses, which, though not beautiful, are excellent. Canada carries on an export trade in them to the Antilles and America, where they are highly prized: it possesses the second iron mines in the world as to quality; its immense forests present materials for building. Canada, in fine, is the source of an immense trade in peltries, and can alone boast of furnishing the valuable spoils of the castor, a merchandise unique in its kind. The medicinal herb, ginseng, so much sought after in China, grew in Canada, and grew without being of any utility to its savage inhabitants, who knew not its good qualities, neither for themselves nor others. Lafiteau, the jesuit, discovered it there in 1778, and added that to the many services which his society has rendered the Colonies; the quantity of it exported had, in 1762, already amounted to the sum of 500,000 francs, when the unfair dealings practised in the trade deprived the country of it, and punished it most

cruelly for the fraud of some of its inhabitants; the just reward of bad faith.

France ceded Canada to England by the peace of 1763. The country prospers under its new government: the population is increased to the number of four or five hundred thousand inhabitants; its manufactures are extended; the fur trade, instead of diminishing, as was apprehended, has increased: the fisheries also have improved very much, as well as every kind of husbandry; and Canada is beginning to find her way to the West Indies, to supply them with flour, salt provisions, lumber, and horses.

But the most valuable property which England has in North America is the island and banks of Newfoundland, in which the French have but a very small share. The island and banks were discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, in 1539: the island is 200 leagues long, and 86 broad: the English established themselves there in 1582, in the active and wise reign of Elizabeth. The French did not fail to make a settlement there also, and to quarrel with the English, as they do every where; fortune having declared against them, they were, agreeably to the peace of Utrecht, concentrated in a part of the island where their establishment has been definitively fixed by the peace of 1763.

This possession deserves to be ranked among the most valuable of those which belong to England; for it enables her to supply all the South of Europe, a part of the North, and almost all the colonies of the Antilles, with that kind of food which religious observances, or habit, make an article of the first necessity to all countries, and to every nation.

The islands of Saint John and Cape Breton, situated in the Gulf of Saint Laurence, belong to England, as

an appendage of that immense domain, Canada. After having been the terror of the Anglo-Americans, under the French, they have been reduced to a state of great weakness by the loss of their population; the English having expelled three thousand settlers from the first, and four thousand from the second. The backward state of those islands will be a sufficient punishment for a rigour which was rather dictated by political jealousy than any real necessity. In these latter days England has granted some settlements to Frenchmen, whom the troubles of their native country prompted to seek another.

Here closes that circle which the immense extent of the English establishments has obliged us to survey; having reached this boundary, let us stop here, that we may be better able to comprehend, at one view, the proportions, and the whole, taken together.

England occupies the best of the establishments belonging to Europe on the coast of Africa. She is mistress of the Cape of Good Hope, of the isle of France, of St. Helena, of Ceylon, and of the peninsula of India; in America, she possesses Trinidad, a great part of the Antilles, many points in the gulf of Mexico, Acadia or Nova Scotia, Canada, and Newfoundland. From her colonial possessions in India, and at the extremity of Africa, England has it in her power to enjoy, almost exclusively, the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and to take the Chinese trade to herself: she can also appropriate all the advantages of the South Sea and South American trade. By means of all the parts of this whole, thus perfectly linked together, she is present at all points of the universe; she draws wealth, of every kind, from the

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the government which prese
prove in a succeeding chapter.

CHAP. V

The French Col

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not have pronounced against herself that interdict, which nature has pronounced against certain states, such as Italy, Austria, and Russia, which, bordered by narrow and confined seas, have had no direct communication with the Colonies, or with the routes which lead to them.

The powers which are the rivals of France having, all of them, preceded her in the Colonies, and being richly established in them, their example made it a duty in her to imitate them; and if she did not think of it till after them, the delay was the consequence of the long and odious quarrels which, during almost the whole of the sixteenth century, the ambition of the great decorated with the pretext of religion.

The Protestants and the League, by turning away the attention and activity of Frenchmen from the new sources of riches which had opened to every one, cost France more gold than blood, and rendered themselves equally accountable for all the prosperity of which they deprived her. They retarded their nation politically, as well as morally. The attempts which were then made savoured strongly of the difficulty of circumstances, and of that divided attention, of which little could remain for the Colonies to create or excite in opposition to present objects, which absorbed it almost altogether. The enterprises, which were undertaken rather with the appearance of paying homage to the new direction of ideas, than as serious occupations, were, therefore, attended with no success. It was reserved for Colbert to rouse France from her long lethargy, as if the administration of that great man were to be, in the order of administration, the end of ignorance of all kinds, and the beginning of every kind

the hands required for their colonies feeling the same want, necessity of satisfying them from trade, for which reason she entered the slave trade. She commenced as all nations at that time, by privilege in it, which continued at which the trade was granted Rouen, Havre, Rochelle, and ceivable madness, what blind superstition, could have thus procured shackle themselves, in their mere reproduction, for the advantage.

The French have long contented and English, on the side of Africa in long possession of the estates and the Gambia, and also at a point on the coast. The loss of Senegal to a few miserable settlements, a centre, is the result of their quarrels and of the inferiority of their means fallen into the hands of the English.

of Good Hope is dated in 1602. It was undertaken by Gonnevillle, at the expense of some merchants of Rouen, and met with no success.

The Isles of France and of Bourbon were discovered by the Portuguese, at the time of their first voyages to India; and after being seen and despised by the other European nations, were occupied by the French, and received French names from them; the first in 1660, the second in 1720. The one has peopled the other. Bourbon is sixty miles long, and forty-five broad. The soil is dry for the most part.

The Isle of France is much smaller, and the soil is not better. In all likelihood it is the arid nature of their soil which constitutes their riches, by rendering their ground more proper for the culture of coffee, which was imported there from Arabia in 1708, and which besides, by preserving the quality of the soil from which it has been transplanted, is also more prized than any other after that of Yemen.

The air of Bourbon is very pure. The population may, perhaps, amount to eight thousand whites, and to thirty thousand blacks. This is the only possession which, according to the late treaties, remains with France in that part of the world.

In the neighbourhood of the Isles of France and Bourbon is that of Madagascar, one of the largest in the world, as it is 336 leagues in length, 120 in breadth, and 800 in circumference. The air is, for the most part, unhealthy, being charged with exhalations from a soil where cultivation has neither cleared the forests, nor drained the marshes. The soil upon the sea-coast is, for the most part, dry; but the interior is very fertile, and peopled almost every where.

Instead of mines of gold and silver, in the existence

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the places where they were to be carried into execution, could have had success, when those that are executed under their eyes are often exposed to the danger of meeting with none?

There were also some private associations, but of an open kind, formed in Brittany and Normandy, which, in the years 1601, 1606, 1619, made their first voyages into France, in the same manner as is done at present. Those first navigators landed in the beginning at Java, from which they returned with cargoes of spices, which inflamed the desires of many to proceed in search of them, and of the profits which they hoped to make by the sale. An order, entirely new, at length commenced with Colbert, in 1664. That great minister invited the attention of the whole nation to the subject, and desired to have their concurrence. A privileged Company immediately appeared, agreeably to the ideas which then prevailed: this Company fixed its first establishment at Surat, in the peninsula formed by the Indus and the coast of Malabar. The country is the best in all India. Surat was, at that time, the principal town and the first staple of that country, a splendour which it preserved till 1664, the epoch at which it experienced that famous pillage in which it lost more than thirty millions of francs. The Company appeared in its greatest lustre under the able administration of M. Caron, one of its directors, who endeavoured, but without success, to establish their countrymen at Ceylon, and to share the profits of those valuable crops with the Hollanders. In 1681 the Company was authorized to establish itself at Siam, agreeably to the suggestions of Constantin, whom chance and the Prince's favour had made prime minister of the country, though a stranger: he was the real source

of the celebrated embassy to Siam by Louis XIV. The Company might have derived the greatest advantage by thus getting admission into a country, where the fertility of the soil is at a degree that may appear fabulous; but the incapacity and irregular conduct of the Company's agents soon deprived them of it, and was the cause of their losing the favour of the country, with that of the minister also, whom they dragged with them in their fate.

During their stay at Siam, the Company had taken advantage of the neighbourhood of Tonquin and Cochin-china, to form connexions which were not attended with much success. Their levity deprived them of the fruits of the commerce which they might have established in those two countries, where every thing abounds.

The French were afterwards established at Pondicherry, from which they were driven by the Dutch in 1693, and to which they returned by the peace of Ryswick. That settlement, destined to become the metropolis of all French India, flourished under the direction of Martin, one of the most able governors that they have had; to him succeeded Dumas, who obtained very important concessions from the Mogul and who knew how to support the honour of his nation with proper dignity, by refusing to subscribe to the conditions which an Indian Prince would impose on him, at the head of an army of 100,000 men. Labourdonnaye, so celebrated in Indian Annals, and whom Dupleix alone could equal, succeeded Dumas: the latter (Dupleix) established at first at Chandernagore, extended its relations very much. The misfortunes caused, during the war of 1744, by the misunderstanding between Labourdonnaye and Du-

pleix, were repaired by the latter, after the fall of the former. He defended Pondicherry against the English; took Madras, and by the force of success, became arbiter of India: his administration is the fairest monument of the French power in that country. Dupleix had formed the plan of establishing his nation on great territorial possessions, as England has since done. For this purpose he took advantage of a vacancy in the Subahdarry of the Deccan, which happened in 1748; and put Salabetzingue, his *protégé*, in possession of it. The latter ceded to him an immense territory in the Carnatic, and in four other provinces, which gave the French possession an extent of more than six hundred leagues of sea coast. The French were then in India on the same footing as the English are at present: they took part in the differences between the sovereigns of the country, and in this manner compromised themselves with the English, who never failed to declare themselves in favour of their opponents. But their grandeur was but of short duration, and perished in that train of misfortunes which, during the war of 1757, destroyed the French power in India, and substituted that of the English, and confined a nation, lately triumphant and predominant, to a few wretched factories, the only remains of a grandeur too soon eclipsed. Such was the term of their existence in India, and of that famous Company which, for a century, had been so great an object of solicitude and embarrassment to the French government, as well as so great a subject of offence to the English; it was dissolved in 1770. The ashes of it were stirred up in 1784, and that weak attempt was lost in the common wreck of the Colonial establishments formed before the same epoch.

The English had treated Pondicherry as Rome treated Carthage: a population of 76,000 inhabitants received orders to disperse, after the taking of the town in 1761, but were restored by the peace of 1763: the incalculable advantages which the situation presented for the perfection of dies, induced the government to restore it: the works commenced in April, 1766. The ancient inhabitants were seen running from all parts: it was intended at first to fortify the town, which was carried into execution unfortunately on contradictory systems; a great deal of money has been expended and lost; nothing solid has been done; for which reason the place fell at the first attack during the last two wars. They always begin by attacking and taking this establishment, which is too much isolated, and besides too weak in itself, to hold out against the power of England in those parts, in the midst of which it has also the inconvenience to be placed: it is not worth the expense which it costs, Chandernagor is also fallen as well as Pondicherry: it has declined from a population of 60,000 souls to 20,000. It is an open town, in which the French are entirely at the mercy of the English. Their situation is not better at Mahé.

The trade of France with China has followed the gradation of her power in India. When she disposed of a great quantity of goods, and when she enjoyed a great territory, she, for that reason, must have carried much to China, and brought back from it in proportion; but as her possessions diminished and her commercial means dried up, she has less to offer to China, and consequently less to ask in return. They who supplanted her in her possessions, and in the commerce of Asia, must of course have supplanted her

in the China trade; which has not failed to come to pass, for the English have succeeded to the French there, in proportion as they have succeeded them in India, and in the same proportion as they erected their empire on the ruins of the French possessions. For which reason almost all the China trade has fallen into the hands of the English.

The French had formed, at various times, commercial associations for that country. The first took place in 1660, by a company of Rouen, under the direction of Sermantel; it did not succeed. The second also, by a free company, met with no better fortune; and it was only under the East India Company, that the French took a very active part in the commerce of that country: they have almost entirely lost it.

The French establishments not having been raised up again, and the English not ceasing to increase and to prosper, their government having paid the greatest attention to extend them, as has even appeared very recently by their signal proceedings towards the Emperor of China, in sending an ambassador to that Prince, the China trade may be considered as dead to the French. They have twice attempted to establish themselves at the extremity of South America at the islands called the Malouines, from the name of the privateers of Saint Malo, who, in 1706, furnished the funds for the enterprise. The toleration accorded by Spain was the price of the services which France was then rendering her; but it was too much in derogation from her principles, respecting the danger of admitting strangers into her neighbourhood, to suffer it to be of any long duration; for which reason it did not extend beyond 1718, the year which saw the

French obliged to depart by the impotency of the Spaniards. It was at the very same place, and for a similar cause, the dispute arose between Spain and England, in 1770, known by the name of the Falkland Islands, and which had the same issue as the first with France.

The French have formed another establishment on the continent of South America, which is important in a quite different way, namely the settlement of Cayenne, in the great space which extends from the Orinoco to the river Amazon. The Spaniards discovered it in 1499; it became the object of European invasion from the reputation of possessing gold in abundance, and principally from the fabulous narratives of Raleigh, who endowed this country with riches which had no existence, except in his own imagination. The French landed there, for the first time, in 1604; they returned to it in 1643, and did so again on a grand scale, but without success, in 1651. The year 1663 saw another enterprise prepared under the special protection of government. From that epoch, till 1676, the Colony felt the vicissitudes of the war which existed between the French, the English, and Dutch: since that time it has been exempt from them. The Buccaneers established themselves there, and would have made it prosper by cultivation, when their attention was diverted from it by an invitation to join their former profession; the affair under consideration was the plundering of Surinam; they failed at Surinam, and lost Cayenne, with all their thriving possessions—the just reward of their avidity.

Four different European nations occupy Guiana: the Spaniards ascending towards the Orinoco, the Dutch after them, the French more to the south, and the

Portuguese after we have crossed the Amazon. The French part extends more than one hundred leagues. Cayenne, which is an island separated from the continent only by a river, is fifteen leagues in circumference. The shores are easily approached, and the muddy bottom, which is very soft, makes amends for the want of harbours. But the air is unhealthy and the soil for the most part poor. It does not become better, except on the banks of some of the rivers, and on the soil which, in imitation of the Dutch at Surinam, is gained from the sea, an example which cannot be too strongly recommended to the Colonists; and which it was not left for a German, as intelligent as patriotic, M. Maluret, to make general in the Colony, together with all the means of prosperity which he could introduce by it. However, notwithstanding his attentions, the Colony was always in a state of weakness, which rendered it, in a manner, of no use to herself or the mother country. The Colony stood France in six hundred thousand livres a year. Its products ought to increase, from what we are to expect from the planting of the clove and muscadin, which the government sent to the Colony. They were cultivated with great care, in the garden belonging to the Colony, by an able botanist named Martin. The plants had already produced cloves very little inferior to those of the Moluccas. The culture once well known, and rendered certain by the cultivation of the plants, might be secured against all attacks, and might enrich the Colony. This is the first French settlement in which coffee has been cultivated: it was carried there from Surinam, and it is the best of any that comes from America.

Cayenne would have acquired a considerable degree of importance, if the views of the government had

been crowned with success. The government sought to find a compensation for the loss of Canada, and expected to find it in Guiana, wherefore great means were employed: 12,000 inhabitants were conveyed to it; 25,000,000 francs were devoted to it, alas! all in vain; for the state lost the money advanced, and the wretched Colonists found nothing there but want and death, only two thousand at most were able to regain Europe, some of them scattered themselves over the continent, were they merely vegetated.

The frightful issue of that enterprise threw a kind of prejudice over the Colony, a sort of funereal crape, which must have made that atrocious distinction still blacker, which in these latter times it has been attempted to make of this settlement, by converting it to the same use as the Romans did the Balearic islands.

A Guiana Company, but not an exclusive one, existed in France; it was solely engaged in the slave trade. The government had given it large grants of lands, esteemed the best in the colony, and afforded great facilities to improve their value: the capital of the Company, which was considerable, was applied to the cutting of wood, the raising of cattle, the culture of cotton, of cacao, and principally of tobacco, which has the same flavour as that of Brazil, which freed France from the subjection she was under, of providing herself with it for different purposes from Lisbon, but especially for the slave trade, in which it is indispensably necessary.

The first French establishment in the Antilles took place in 1625, the epoch when the French made their appearance, for the first time, at St. Christopher's, as we have already remarked. We can never be able to form an adequate idea of the vexations of every

kind which those infant establishments had to bear with from the exclusive companies to which they had been consigned over: the entire stock of human patience and of submission was necessary on the part of the men, all imaginable fecundity on the part of the soil, so as not to be entirely overcome and suffocated under the chaos of absurd regulations which furnish their codes, without any advantage even to the members of the Company, who saw themselves reduced in 1649 to sell their possessions in detail, which they only knew how to ruin. Will any one at this day believe that Gaudeloupe, and the islands which depend on it, were then sold for the sum of 73,000 francs, and that the order of Malta acquired St. Christopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, and St. Croix, for 120,000 francs? Colbert was the first to discover the importance of those islands; and he re-purchased them all for 840,000. Much more happy would it have been for the Colonies, more happy for himself, had he entirely felt all the inconveniences of commercial companies! But the age had not attained the level of such ideas; and a company had once more the right of governing, that is, of ravaging those new domains of France. It did its duty so well in this way, that it was dissolved in 1764, and the Colonies at length obtained their liberty, but with all the restrictions which still entered into the spirit of the times: they were not entirely freed from them till 1717, by regulations dictated in a spirit more truly colonial.

The French Colonies may be divided into military and commercial establishments; the first destined to protect the second; they are the military stations of France in the Antilles, and places of shelter for her

fleets. Martinique and St. Lucia are of the first mentioned class: Domingo and Guadeloupe of the second. Martinique and St. Lucia are too near each other to be separated from the same government; they ought always to belong to the same master, which did take place from the peace of 1763; but this regulation had been changed by the treaty of Paris in 1814.

The possession of this island was, for a long time, subject of very difficult discussion between the French and the English. The latter had only come to settle on the island, from 1639 to 1651. It appeared of so little importance at that time, that the French government made a present of it to Marshal d'Estrees, while the English government did the same to the Duke of Montague, cessions which had no effect till 1721, when it was restored to its true destination, that of national property, which it has no longer ceased to be.

St. Lucia is about forty leagues in circumference; its shape is triangular, the air is unhealthy for the most part, the soil middling, and the population amounts to 20,000 inhabitants; the produce for exportation amounts to 3,000,000 francs.

It might reach ten millions, and its population might be trebled, by an increase of cultivation: its careening place is the best in the Antilles.

The French passed from St. Christopher to Martinico in 1635. This island may be about fifty leagues round; its soil, covered with frightful rocks, is generally poor: it has, however, admitted all sorts of husbandry, which still might be increased.

The coffee plant was introduced there in 1726, by M. Desclieux, whose devotedness for the preservation of the precious plants which had been confided to him

never be forgotten: they have become the parents of numerous posterity, which now covers the island with more than seventeen millions of coffee plants: the exports consequently amount to a very considerable sum.

The French establishment of Gaudeloupe is dated in 1635. The island, the shape of which is very regular, presents a circumference of almost eighty leagues: it is divided, by a very narrow arm of the sea, into two parts, the second of which is called Basse-terre, and has a dependance of some importance in the island of Marie Galante.

But what are all these Colonies in comparison with the French part of St. Domingo; which, reaching in a space of fifty years the highest rank of all the European establishments in both worlds, presented in the smallest division of that island such miracles of labour and industry, and in the largest the ludicrous results of idleness and neglect? Who has not admired the French St. Domingo, which covered Europe with the luxuries of her harvests, and from her contracted territory sends as much riches to the parent state as the vast empires of India give to England, and as Spain wrings from the continent of the two Americas?

St. Domingo is 160 leagues long, its mean breadth is thirty, and its circumference 300 leagues, without reckoning the creeks, which would almost double this circumference. The climate has only the ordinary inconveniences of the Antilles. The clearing of the woods having been effected long ago, and the lands disposed of, the principal causes of insubriety no longer exist.

The first French inhabitants arrived from St. Chris-

topher's, from which they had been driven; they were adventurers, who, joined to others of the same description, and of every nation, first established themselves at Tortue, from which they were driven, and to which they returned several times. Their first employment was the hunting of cattle, with which the island was covered after the importation of them from Spain. They also gave themselves up to piracy against all navigators, but principally against those of Spain, whose scourge they were during forty years. They were the Barbary States, or Moors, of the Antilles. Those terrible buccaneers, those intrepid pirates, the consternation and astonishment of the Americans, who have filled the world with the recollection of their savage valour and their dreadful exploits. Dogeron, whose name recalls the idea of all the virtues, was the first to try the empire of persuasion and paternal authority over these ferocious hordes. He commenced the difficult work of civilizing them, when death carried him off in the midst of his labours. After him the Colony languished till 1722. All kinds of cultivation had been undertaken. The sugar cane had been transported there from Mexico: cocoa had been planted by Dogeron. The Colony lost at once all that it possessed, but the most cruel of all plagues which could fall upon it, the best calculated to accomplish its entire destruction, were three privileged companies, which there, as every where else, commenced with reducing the Colonists to despair, and ended by ruining themselves.

At length, in 1722, liberty reared her head in this country, which was so very worthy of her; and it is from that epoch that it has risen from a state of absolute nothingness to one of the highest prosperity, and

from possessing no more than a few thousand negroes, to a population of 500,000. We shall not stop here to enter into any description of the country, or to pass any eulogium on its fertility. What need has it of our pencil, or of our praise? Is not its praise written on all the exchanges of Europe, on all the ports of France, on all her shores, on all her manufactories, and on all her warehouses? 540,000 inhabitants, of all colours, 150,000,000 francs of exports, arising out of 8,536 plantations, on which stand 800 sugar manufactories, 400 ships employed in the carriage of those productions, employing 12,000 sailors. Such are the titles of St. Domingo to the admiration of the universe, and to the gratitude of France! The part of the island belonging to France is divided into three divisions, the North, West, and South. The first is the most fertile, and contains the military establishments, fixed at the mole of St. Nicholas, which is the Gibraltar of the Antilles. St. Domingo can enumerate some towns of considerable importance, such as Port-au-Prince and Cape François, particularly the last, which is the staple of half the goods of the colony.

By the colonial regulations the importation of all the produce, intended for the European market, must be confined to France. Much, however, was sent to the Spaniards of St. Domingo, or of the continent, to the Dutch of Curaçoa, to the Americans, who received the syrups manufactured in the colony in payment of the wood, flour, pulse, and salt fish, imported into the island by the American traders, to the English, who were in the habit of supplying the deficiency in the French slave trade, which was too confined for the wants of the island. Before the monarchies of France

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Domingo had ceased to be tl
catastrophe arrived, which de
possession.

RECAPITULA

France possesses only a few
ments on the coast of Guinea,
abolition of the slave trade.

At the extremity of Africa
remains with her, which, by
Isle of France, costs her ---

Martinique and Guadeloupe, therefore, compose all the colonial fortune of France, since the loss of St. Domingo—that pearl of all the European colonies—that eternal subject of grief to every Frenchman.

The complete loss of all her colonial possessions makes France a power purely continental.

CHAP. VI.

The Spanish Colonies.

IF the number, variety, extent, and wealth of colonial possessions were alone sufficient of themselves to constitute utility with regard to a parent state, where can be found one to compare with Spain? What is that nation which can take a higher, or an equal pride, in reigning over countries of such vast extent, in commanding realms more numerous, or more various; in possessing, as she does, the sources of gold and of other precious or useful metals, in dispensing those signs which every where nourish and reward every kind of industry, in such a manner as that the whole world seems to labour for Spain, and to expect their wages at her hands?

To speak of the Spanish Colonies is to speak by empires, by continents; to name them is to name Mexico, Peru, and twenty other realms: it is recalling to memory the riches of the ancient Sovereigns of the New World, and to show, in the persons of the Spaniards, the inheritors of their opulence. If some

THE COLONIES

have reached a high degree of prosperity with
of small extent, as the French have done with
est portion of St. Domingo, what should the
y of Spain not be with all the advantages of
colonies united together! And, notwithstanding,
he condition of that power? What a spectacle
present? What peculiar utility does she de-
that heap of treasures, which rather seem to
r than enrich her? Spain, it is true, like an
tree, covers a vast extent of ground with her
but their shade smothers the fruits, which
nt either to protect or defend.

has pushed forth and expanded her shoots
tries a thousand times more extensive than
and this dissemination, after having exhausted
ost upon spaces to which it is not proper

is mistress of the richest mines in the world;
oes not work them to her own profit; she is

to the first, and, in the end, always becomes her subject!

In taking a view of the Spanish Colonies, we shall find that truth demonstrated at every step; and by it the demonstration of the system which best suits extensive Colonies, particularly after faults and misfortunes of long duration, and under the empire of circumstances which change all the known and established relations of both hemispheres.

We shall not insult the Spanish Colonies so far as to reckon among them the presidentships of Africa, the remains of Cardinal Ximenes' conquests on that continent, when that prelate, complying with the prevailing ideas of the times in which he lived, would rather pursue the infidels than firmly establish his nation. Spain has already given up some of those ports, and can do nothing better than abandon the remainder, which are burdensome to her in men and money. In a word, what use is there in two or three strong places on a continent, into which they neither desire, nor are able to penetrate? If it be for the purpose of giving employment to criminals, she will find that elsewhere. *Galleys* of this description are too expensive.

The first Spanish colony which presents itself to our view, in the long space which the extent of Spanish sovereignty will oblige us to run over, is that of the Canary Islands, to the number of seven: they are situated at the distance of 500 miles from Spain, and 100 from the coast of Africa. The name of the *Fortunate Islands* belongs to them from ancient times, during which Ptolemy fixed his first meridian there, which has become almost the general measure for calculating the longitude of all places on all geographical maps.

These islands, forgotten since that time in the ~~class~~ of barbarism into which Europe had fallen, re-discovered in 1494, became, in the following century, subject to the crown of Castile. Tenerife belongs to the Canaries, celebrated for its volcanoes and the height of its mountains, the highest of which rises to an elevation of 1,900 toises above the level of the sea. Tenerife is the seat of government, in virtue of its superiority over the other islands. Their climate is delicious, as are also their productions, particularly their malmsey, of which they export annually from 1,200 to 1,500 butts.

The population is almost 200,000 inhabitants.

It is rather singular that the power most richly endowed with Colonies, should have been that one precisely without any establishments, in the country which furnished the hands to cultivate them: this, however, is what has happened to Spain for ages past. Her conduct in this respect has been very singular, and has obliged her to pass successively through the hands of all the commercial nations. The first importation of negroes into the Spanish Islands was in the year 1503. Charles V permitted 4,000 to be imported into them in 1517. In 1606 the Portuguese contracted for the importation of 15,000 in the space of five years. After them came the French, who took the lead in the Spanish carrying trade from 1702 till 1713. The treaty of Utrecht followed, and soon after that the Assiento contract, which transferred the privilege of that trade to the English. They were succeeded in it by a Company established at Porto Rico, which fulfilled its destination but very imperfectly, as was the case with another Company, consisting of foreigners who had offered to supply a certain quantity of negroes in a given time. The inadequacy of all those attempts

as well as the trouble with which they were attended, at length brought the government to the only thing which reason admits, that in which matters are sure to end, and with which it would be much better to begin, a *free trade*, which was granted to this branch of commerce in 1789.

Spain had been disposed to do still more for her carrying trade; for she had acquired possession of two islands on the coast, for the purpose of forming establishments upon them adapted to this trade. The late arrangements respecting the slave-trade will make those dispositions superfluous. From that point on the coast of Africa, to the extremity of the seas of Asia, no traces of any Spanish establishments are to be found. We must search for them in the midst of the Indian Ocean, in a position which appears midway between Asia and America: they will be found at the Philippines. They were discovered in 1521, as well as the Mariannes, from which we shall not separate them: their extent, divided into a vast number of small islands, equals that of the half of France, or 14,640 square leagues.

The island of Luzon, the principal of them, is 125 leagues long, and 40 broad; it contains the bay of Cavita, which is the dock-yard and arsenal of those islands, as also the town of Manilla, which is the capital, and the seat of government. It was taken by the English in 1762. Had it been carefully fortified before that time, perhaps it would have escaped the misfortune.

The climate of these islands is delicious, the soil excellent; all the productions of Europe, Asia, and America, thrive in them: the cultivation of rice demands less preparation there than any where else. Mines of most excellent iron are worked there; the

copper is of a quality equally good; gold is no stranger, and shows itself in the sand which the rivers carry down. The riches of the vegetable kingdom are such that, in 1781, Sonnerat brought home from it more than 6,000 plants, unknown in Europe. The great abundance of wood is favourable to all kinds of building; the cattle is multiplied to such a degree as to cover the plains of the island. In a word, nothing is wanting that is necessary for the abundant supply of a numerous population in every respect, or for the occasions of trade, and the support of a great exportation, to which their position between Asia and America seems to invite them. However, with so many advantages, these islands do not reckon a greater population than 1,900,000 souls, and cost Spain 1,200,000 francs beyond their annual revenue, which amounts to 8,400,000 francs. The Mariannes lost almost all their inhabitants by the hands of the Spaniards. In 1772 an enlightened Governor, M. Tobias, was of opinion that men might be good for some other purpose than to be killed or persecuted: he, therefore, set those islanders to work, and success had crowned his generous designs, when he himself found he had an account to settle with Envy, who made him feel every thing which might be expected from her, and from those oversights to which the religion of Princes is exposed, especially with respect to objects far removed from their eyes.

The Spaniards and Portuguese were formerly at variance respecting the right of possession of the Philippines. Charles V, as his mind was more taken up with Europe than with a few Asiatic islands, gave them up to the Portuguese for the sum of 2,600,000 livres; but Philip II was not scrupulous in revising his father's

engagements, and he took them back again. For this time, however, he was not disposed to hold them by violence, and peaceable missionaries were his only soldiers.

Whatever the folly of Spain may have been with respect to her Colonies, it would be very strange if such a fair possession as that of the Philippines would not sometimes speak to the eyes and soul of Government, as well as those of private speculators. Every thing, indeed, invited one as well as the other to them : Colonies situated between America and Asia, in the neighbourhood of China, Japan, and the Moluccas, seemed as if destined to unite all those countries in one common knot, and to serve them as a staple ; but Spain, always jealous with respect to her Americas, dreaded the establishment of such connexions, from an apprehension that the prosperity of the Philippines might be prejudicial to her favourite possession. The embarrassment which was experienced by attempting to reunite all those interests gave rise to the idea of abandoning those colonies, almost at the very time of their first discovery. They have been retained till these latter times, when, at length, some pains are taken to revive them, and to place them in direct correspondence with the parent state. Previous to that innovation, several had been suggested : the first was the project of Cardinal Alberoni, who proposed to open the American trade with Asia, through the Philippines ; the returns to be made at Panama, from which place they were to be embarked on the Chagre, and conveyed to Europe. The second was that of Pathino, minister in 1733 : he proposed establishing a Company for twenty years, but a stop was put to it by the maritime powers, who then maintained that Spain could not take the route of the

Cape of Good Hope—an assertion which would appear very strange at present. The third was that of M. de Musquiz, minister in 1767 : he was for forming an association, half Spanish, half French, which he proposed to join to the French India Company : this project was attended with no result. Since that time Count d'Estaing and the Prince of Nassau, presented many projects, all relating to the same object ; none of them were adopted. At length, in 1784, M. Cabarras obtained the establishment of a Philippine Company ; an enterprise which was resisted on many accounts, as all novelties are ; but which seems to have given a sufficient answer to its projectors and detractors, by the regular payment of a dividend of five per cent., and by having a considerable number of ships, in continual motion, in passing between America and Spain.

It is to the refusal which Columbus met with from his countrymen, the Genoese, and to England also, refusing to employ that man whom an irresistible bias attracted towards America, who was tormented with the desire of executing his favourite project, that Spain is indebted for this celebrated navigator, and through him, perhaps, for a part of her greatness. What has he not done for her, especially when the feeble assistance which he received from her is taken into consideration ? In reality, she had but three small ships to offer him, whose crews amounted to no more than 80 men ; an armament, the expense of which did not exceed 100,000 livres. Such were the means with which Columbus, with the air rather of a man flying from the Old World, than of one setting out to conquer a New, took his departure from Spain, in August, 1492. He arrived at the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands,

in October, and the New World was discovered: he then directed his course towards Hispaniola, since called St. Domingo. We have spoken already of its extent, productions, and climate; it remains for us to consider it under such points of view as are more immediately interesting to Spain. She is in possession of almost two-thirds of the island, the population of which does not exceed 100,000 inhabitants. Instead of making some return to the parent state, it stands her in an annual expense of 900,000 livres. The face of the country is diversified, the soil excellent, and fit for all kinds of produce, as well those of America as of Europe, notwithstanding it produces but a very trifling quantity. The inhabitants rather apply themselves to the rearing of cattle, with which they supply the French part of St. Domingo, as well as the other Colonies. This species of industry is more agreeable to the indolence of the inhabitants than to the interests of the island, which is confined to an exportation of from five to six thousand hides, and a small quantity of other articles. Could any one believe that, till lately, Domingo sent no more than one solitary ship to the parent state, and that too every three years, while the French part of the island dispatched more than 300 every year?

Almost all the towns are either fallen into ruins, or are deserted. Every where misery presents itself to the view, the inseparable companion of indolence.

St. Domingo has not always been in this very low state: in former times it prospered by its cultivation; it then was in the habit of sending more than 10,000,000 pounds weight of sugar to the mother country, and alone supplied all the cocoa that she used. But those happy times are passed, for many reasons;

the principal of which is, the emigration of the inhabitants to Mexico, where the immense fortunes which they saw made in that country invited them. St. Domingo has not recovered. Plundered by Sir Francis Drake, laid waste by the Buccaneers, and still more so by its own government, which was so imprudent as to order a number of towns on the coast to be raised, for the purpose of concentrating the population in the interior, and, by these means, of stopping all smuggling with America, St. Domingo, like every useless member, has remained in a languishing state, even though the government has since had recourse to better measures. In 1756 the government permitted a Company, but an exclusive one, to be established for St. Domingo: that Company has produced nothing. In 1766 the Colony was thrown open to all Spanish traders, with the exception of the Biscayens, on account of customs of a peculiar kind, the consequence of privileges to which they are strongly attached. This measure, excellent as it is in itself, has had no influence upon the state of St. Domingo, where every thing remains in the same languid condition.

The island of Porto Rico, discovered by Columbus in 1493, and taken possession of by the Spaniards in 1500, is situated to the windward of St. Domingo. It is 35 leagues long, 18 broad, and 100 in circumference. It is, perhaps, the very best soil of all the Antilles, as far as has been discovered. The air is salubrious, the harbour of St. John excellent, even for ships of the first rate. The population about 160,000, of which only a very trifling proportion are slaves. Porto Rico received the privilege of free trade in 1765, but without having, as yet, made any progress proportioned to the extent of such a favour. However, it

is in a progressive state of amelioration, especially since the government has paid some attention, and has expended upon it, annually, the sum of 2,634,000 livres.

The great island of Cuba, discovered by Columbus in 1492, and conquered by the Spaniards in 1512, lies to the leeward of St. Domingo. It is 230 leagues long, and from 14 to 24 broad. Its population, in 1814, amounted to 432,000 inhabitants, of whom 234,000 were whites; the people of colour amounted to 90,000; the slaves, to 108,000.

The capital is the celebrated town of the Havannah, built by the Spaniards in 1520, who then fully understood the value of the possession in securing their communication with the continent of America. It is the war harbour of Spain for Mexico, and its port is one of the finest and best in the world.

The colonial importance of Cuba is greatly enhanced by the cultivation of tobacco, of sugar, and of wax. The first supplies all that the government has occasion for in its exclusive sale of this article, in all its possessions in both hemispheres. In 1794, Cuba exported to the amount of 7,800,000 * livres of tobacco. It furnishes more sugar than Spain consumes: in 1803, the exports amounted to 75,000,000 † pounds weight.

The emigration from the island of St. Domingo has favoured the increase of cultivation in the island of Cuba. The art of tending bees and their hives, the fruits of such industrious labour, was carried to Cuba by emigrants from Florida: they have multiplied to such a degree that the inhabitants find it necessary to restrain the increase. The wax produced supplies the

* Humboldt, vol. v.

† Ibid.

wants of the island, and of Spain also. In 1803, the exports of this article amounted to 3,150,000 francs.

When each year Cuba saw only four vessels from Cadiz arrive in her ports, with those of Mexico, which, on their return to Spain, had occasion to complete their cargoes, we may readily conjecture that it was under the yoke of Companies and monopoly. A free trade has changed that state of things, and enabled Cuba to receive, in the same space of time, more than the same number of hundreds, as well ships belonging to their own country as of foreigners.

The expenses of government in the island of Cuba, including those incurred for guards, exceed the sum which the sovereignty produces, by the sum of 6,500,000 francs.

Those of Porto Rico 2,000,000 fr.

Havannah maintains and can raise an armed force of 24,000 men.

Cumana and Marguerita, in the neighbourhood of the continent of America, have lost all their importance by losing the pearl fishery, the banks getting exhausted. They began to fail as far back as 1614.

Trinidad, separated from the Spanish continent by a channel ten leagues broad, was discovered by Columbus in 1498, and occupied by the Spaniards in 1535. It is twenty-five leagues long, and eighteen broad.

This island was of no account among the Spanish possessions, prior to 1780, and the French revolution. A free trade was then given to it, and Colonists were invited. Its prosperity is to be dated from that æra; the revolution completed it by introducing a great number of Colonists from St. Domingo, who carried with them their active industry. The English

we made themselves masters of it, and have kept as a plank, by which they may cross over to the Spanish continent. The population of Trinidad is increased, from a few thousands, to very near 100,000.

Jamaica belonged to Spain till the time of Cromwell, who took it from her. It has gained by changing masters; for it is not the Colonies that disappoint Spain, but Spain that disappoints the Colonies.

Florida is, for the most part, a peninsula, the southern extremity of which is the eastern boundary of the continent of North America: it is 100 leagues in length, and 40 in breadth.

Florida is as yet in its cradle, if one can judge from this circumstance; namely, that it stands Spain 20,000 francs, sent every year to make the receipts meet the expenditure. When the English had Florida added to them at the same time as Canada, they discovered an intention, by that circumstance, to make their possession of all the eastern parts of America complete, from the highest point of northern to the west point of southern latitude. Since the acquisition of Louisiana, the Americans have continued the same project, and cannot fail to obtain possession of a country, at last, so necessary to connect their ancient possessions with their new member, Louisiana, which Florida divides, and to prevent them from being connected in their communications, either by sea or land, with the different parts of the union.

Mexico contains a great number of provinces, many of which are of as great extent as great kingdoms elsewhere; such as the *audiencia* of Guatemala, which contains, in itself, an area of 25,000 leagues square; that is to say, as much as Spain itself: that of Mexico,

that audience, those named *provincias internas* included, amount to square leagues 144,460

Population souls 5,900,000

That of Mexico 180,000

The revenues of Mexico amount to, *fs.* 120,000,000

The expenses absorb. 84,000,000

Payments to the Royal Treasury at

Madrid 35,000,000

The Mexican army men 32,000

In the troops of the line 5,000

The produce of the mines of Mexico, 120,000,000

It consists entirely of silver.

Every species of husbandry succeeds well in Mexico. The corn crops infinitely exceed the produce of those of Europe. The usual return of wheat is thirty for one; maize, 150; banana, from 300 to 400. The cultivation of wheat was introduced by the Viceroy Galvez. Mexico is the country that furnishes cochineal: the soil and climate of that country would answer extremely well for the cultivation of the vine, for silk, and the olive; but the jealousy of Spain, as hitherto, deprived her of such valuable productions. All the animals imported from Europe have thriven perfectly well, notwithstanding any thing that Buffon may have said to the contrary.

At the æra of its discovery Charles V was about to grant America a free trade with all Spain. Unfortunately, the age in which this Prince lived was unworthy of him; he was the only one to feel the value of that idea: so far, therefore, was it from being realized, that the trade was confined to the port of Seville alone, to which the port of Cadiz succeeded, when the former was filled. At length, after two ages of suffering,

the wants and complaints of America brought about the order of things which was established in 1778.

The regions denominated Honduras, Campechy, and Yucatan, lie along the coast of Mexico: Yucatan has no other European inhabitants than the English, who are established, and maintain their ground there, in opposition to all the efforts of Spain, employing themselves in the lucrative export trade of that wood, which is known by the name of *Campechy*.

California, situated at the western extremity of Mexico, was discovered by Cortez, in 1694. It measures 9,300 square leagues, and contains a population of 25,000 inhabitants. It is divided into missions to the number of fifteen; its government hitherto has been exclusively ecclesiastical.

The isthmus of Darien, with the provinces of Varagua and Panama, form what is called the kingdom of Terra Firma. Panama is the capital. It was from that place the Spaniards set out on their expedition to Peru; through this port, and that of Porto Bello, which corresponds with it on the opposite side of the isthmus, all the affairs of Spain with the South Sea are carried on.

South America is a country of vast extent, being no less than 1,200 leagues in length, and somewhat less than 400 in breadth. Spain is in possession of the whole, with the exception of Brazil and the two Guianas, which belong to Holland and France.

The first Spanish province in this country is Carthagena, which stretches 50 leagues along the coast, and 80 into the interior of the country. The town so called was built in 1527, burned by Drake in 1585, taken by Pontis in 1692, and in 1741 Admiral Vernon withdrew from before it: it is well fortified, and well

built, but very unhealthy; its population is above 30,000 souls. St. Martha and Venezuela are situated in the neighbourhood; the name of the last arose from the resemblance which the site of the town bears to that of Venice. Charles V ceded it to certain Augsburg merchants, then the richest in Europe, who had become his creditors. They were the means of their own expulsion, from their vexatious conduct.

This country derives its principal importance from the cultivation of cacao; it is the cacao which is known by the name of *cacao Caraca*, because Caracas is the principal mart where it is disposed of: it is, at this moment, the very focus of the war against Spain.

After this country comes the kingdom of New-Grenada, formed in 1718 by a dismemberment from the Viceroyalty of Peru. It contains 64,520 square leagues; its population amounts to 1,800,000. The conquest is dated from 1526. The country is very rich in gold mines. The province of Quito forms a part of it: the Spaniards inhabit no more than the valley of that name, which is 80 leagues long, and 15 broad, formed of two branches of the Cordeleras. It is one of the most charming places to live in, and the finest soil in the whole world.

Quinquina, or Jesuits' bark, is the growth of this province: that tree, which may be called the friend of man, the juices of which pursue the principles of corruption through all the veins of the body where they can introduce themselves. The best grows at Loxa.

Peru, that opulent country, the name of which has become synonymous with riches, was discovered by Balboa in 1513, attacked by Pizarro and Almagro in 1514, and conquered by them in 1581, after some

prodigies of boldness, courage, and perseverance, as were sufficient to cover a part of the horrors with which the conquerors defiled themselves; unheard-of assemblage of grandeur and of crimes, at one time above man, at another below monsters! It would be useless to retrace every thing which gave them this powerful empire, the frauds which put them in possession of the Emperor, and the horrible death of that Sovereign, the distractions which followed, and the wars which were lighted up between the conquerors themselves, now become implacable enemies. Almagro massacred by Pizarro, Pizarro by the sons of Almagro, and all the chiefs falling by mutual blows, as if they were all to serve equally as a monument of that Justice, which is constantly awake at all times, and in all places.

Peru contains 30,000 square leagues; its population amounts to 1,000,000 inhabitants. It is a very close country, and bounded by the largest mountains in the world. Chimboraco, which is the most elevated, is 3,220 toises above the level of the sea.

Lima is the capital of Peru, built by Francis Pizarro, in 1535, on a fine piece of ground; it was destroyed by an earthquake on the 26th of October, 1746. Lima means *the town of silver*, a denomination which her riches secure from the reproach of usurpation. Its population amounts to nearly 100,000 souls.

It never rains at Lima; and that verdure which the firmament refuses is, by an exception almost singular in the world, kept up by a mist which rises every day, and which is the only cause of the fertility which it enjoys. Guyaquil, situated to the north of Lima, reckons 60,000 inhabitants: it is the mart for the

commerce carried on between the two parts of Spanish America and the South Sea. Almost all the mines of Peru are confined to the most mountainous parts of that country; a circumstance which makes it a difficult matter to export them. The produce is reduced to a very trifle. We may easily judge of it from the revenue of the country, which does not make a higher return to Spain than 24,000,000 francs, of which only 6,000,000 are sent to the parent state.

Besides the productions common to Europe and America, Peru is in possession of one which is very valuable; a kind of sheep serviceable in carrying goods, which is a difficult matter in a country covered with mountains, and intersected with steep valleys: they furnish the most valuable wool in the universe. They are termed vigonias, and are of two kinds, the lamas and the pacos. The first are the stronger; the second more valuable on account of their fleece.

Chili became subject to Spain in 1535. Almasco was the conqueror, who made himself master of it without opposition. It contains 22,596 square leagues: the population amounts to 800,000 inhabitants. This country is the terrestrial paradise of Spanish America, a fine soil, a temperate climate, the vine and the fruits of Europe have succeeded there, all kinds of animals have been naturalized in it with great success, and the horse excels in beauty and quality those of Andalusia, to whom he is indebted for his noble origin.

There are in some parts of Chili, as in all America, a certain number of Indians who have resisted Spanish domination, who occupy a considerable space in the interior of the country: the Spaniards call them Indian bravos. The islands of Chili and of Juan-

Fernandez are situated on the southern side of Chili : the first is fifty leagues long and seven broad ; the second, still smaller, has been rendered famous by the recital which Admiral Anson gives of his stay in that island : in reading it, one might fancy himself transported into those abodes which the imaginations of romance-writers have created for their amusement at so little expense.

Paraguay was discovered by the Spaniards in 1515 : they gave it the name of the river by which they found an entrance into the country : they were not established there before 1525 by Labat, and 1585 by Mendoza.

This vast tract contains 143,000 square leagues, and a population of 1,100,000 inhabitants. This great country absorbs all its revenues, so as only to send 3,000,000 francs to Spain ; it is divided into three great provinces, Paraguay, Buenos-Ayres, and Tucuman. The principal towns are Buenos-Ayres, Assumption, Rio-de-la-Plata, and Monte-Video.

The commerce of the country consists almost entirely in the hides of the animals which cover the vast plains of Paraguay. It also sends to Peru a great quantity of horses and mules, and also of that herb which is known by the name of herb of Paraguay, in which the people of those countries delight, as those of Europe and Asia do in tea and beetle.

Europe is filled with the history of the attempts at government and civilization tried by the Jesuits on a numerous nation, that of the Guaranis, whom they were enabled to collect together to the amount of 120,000. To what a height could that kind of republic of religious Platos have been raised ? Who could settle it ? What is to be said as to what is sub-

stantially true in the thing itself, when it can be learned from the narratives of interested persons alone, and the historians of it are at the same time its heroes? The association has ended with its founders, and the Guaranis returned to their forests when their founders returned to nothing.

The Spanish Colonies are so disturbed, their condition is so uncertain, that we must wait for what is to come before we are able to assign their colonial state in the same manner as that of the other Europeans. Spain is fighting to keep her Colonies; we must, therefore, dismiss the subject till after the issue of the contest, that we may know the place which she is to occupy in colonial rank.

We shall close what relates to the European establishments in the two Indies, with some observations upon those formed by Sweden and Denmark. Those nations have been very late in entering into the colonial career; almost all the places had been taken when they came, and, what is more, the commercial relations had been already established between all the different nations: for it is always a troublesome business to change the direction which commerce has received. Sweden and Denmark are powers of the third rank: their marine even, till very lately, was in its cradle. Those states, especially Sweden, were entirely taken up with continental wars: their position is far north; only one part of their harbours looks to the ocean, and for a part of the year sees nothing but ice and other obstacles to navigation. All those untoward circumstances taken together are by no means favourable to the establishment of colonial power; for which reason they have not, nor can they ever, become colonial powers; and, therefore, they have been able

merely to glean in the fields which others have reaped : such will for ever be their destiny with respect to Colonies ; but this very state, which besides is not without its advantages to them, has thrown them into another career. They have placed themselves, as it were, in the rear of the colonial nations ; and, instead of encroaching on their territories, they encroach upon their markets, on their sales, on all their speculations in which their position may enable them to effect a reduction of price. Established every where, in the midst of Colonies, shut against all others but those of their own nations, the Swedes and Danes have endeavoured to make amends for the impossibility of introducing themselves openly, by creating in their neighbourhoods facilities and attractions for the sale of the commodities which the other Colonies possess. It is even the exclusion of those Colonists which is the cause why neutrals acquire riches in the Colonies : as they are disqualified from becoming direct agents of their commerce, they become so indirectly and by round-about ways, and have opened marts for that purpose. In a word, not being able to become conquerors in the midst of Colonists stronger than themselves, they have become smugglers on a grand scale, and have concealed the justice of commerce, in order that they may attach themselves solely to the balance of it. Such is the real state of the Swedish and Danish Colonies in America as well as in Asia, and such is the light in which we are to consider them : with regard to territory, population, and productions, they are infinitely small, mere evanescent points in the immense space of other Colonies : as giving an impulse to commerce, and as colonial accidents, they are indeed something.

In the Antilles, Denmark is in possession of St. Thomas, St. John, and Sainte-Croix : the last-mentioned was ceded by France, in 1733, for 758,000 livres. Those islands enjoy a free trade since 1754. Saint Thomas, during those three last wars, has become the entrepôt of the belligerent powers.

Denmark has given a precedent for the general but gradual abolition of the slave trade to take place at a fixed period ; a resolution which is dated from the time that Count Bernstorff was minister. This innovation, as far as Denmark is concerned, is inconsequential, which in Colonies so very confined possesses but a very small number of negroes ; but it is and must be of the greatest consequence with respect to nations which are under the necessity of employing and watching over a very large number. Such is the inconvenience of those mixed possessions which in the midst of common interests and common dangers have private interests of their own, and are in an unequal position with that of all their neighbours round about.

The principal Danish establishment, indeed the only one which they have in India, is Tranquebar, in the kingdom of Tanjore, on the coast of Coromandel, on one of the branches of the river Cavary, a situation for commerce very happily chosen : the soil is excellent. This establishment was formed in 1618. It has to struggle against two exclusive Companies who were as injurious to the settlement as they were to themselves. They fell into utter ruin in 1730 : a third succeeded them in 1732, which has prospered. It has been found advantageous to remove the Company's establishment in Europe from Copenhagen, where it was placed, to Altona. This transfer brought it nigher the ocean, to Hamburg, and the consumers

assuredly the Company must have gained considerably by that arrangement, and it certainly must have a foresight of it that influenced the maritime powers to oppose it. Their interests were found to be in too direct opposition with it not to throw every obstacle in their power in its way ; those powers, as principally interested in the commerce of India, ought to dread and remove every thing which was likely to create competition. It was from such motives that they caused the Ostend Company to be suppressed by authority, which was created by Prince Eugene in 1717 : its success gave them offence : they required and enforced its dissolution. The attempt of Joseph II met with the same opposition, and experienced similar success.

The Swedish East India Company, established in 1761, has also met with success, and for the same reason as that given in the case of the Danish Company, with the addition of some advantages which it enjoys over the latter, such as the situation of its principal establishment at Gothenbourg on the ocean, and the exportation of certain maritime stores which Sweden can always supply on better terms than Denmark.

The two Companies established at Embden by the King of Prussia from 1751 to 1756 have not had the same success. It was with difficulty that they reached the year 1763, which was that of their own dissolution, and this trial should completely satisfy Frederic that his country, like that of ancient Thrace, might well be that of Mars, but could not be that of commerce, nor of the deity which presides over it.

It was merely to omit nothing that we have mentioned those atoms of Colonies without territory, with-

out inhabitants, and without marine. What other name, in fact, can we give to establishments producing two, three, or four millions of francs by the side of the brilliant colonial empires which other nations have formed?

Italy, that fertile and populous country which managed the whole commerce of Europe, with Asia, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope—Italy has lost all her ancient connections in the East, and has not acquired any new ones in the countries discovered in the West: Italy has no Colonies; she can have none, on account of her central position in the Mediterranean, without any immediate connection, without any immediate passage to the colonial territories. If Rome owed the empire of the then known world to her position in the centre of that sea, to that very sea does she owe her exclusion from the Colonies at the present day. But let Italy console herself for the want of those possessions, and let her regrets be lost in the glorious recollections which of right belong to her; let her only reflect that it was through her that the Colonies and the New World were discovered, that she had the glory of giving it the name of one of her children, that it was from her that the Columbuses, the America Vespucis, the Verranis, and Cabots, went forth, and not only those but a thousand other navigators, the predecessors of the navigators of Holland, of England, and of France, and the contemporaries of the Argonauts of Spain and Portugal. Italy has done even more; for, ever mother of the arts and sciences, she has invented the mariners's compass, without which we perhaps might never have had Colonies, and, by means of this happy invention, has furnished the hand of one riding on the waves of the ocean with a thread more unerring than

that of Areadne : she has given to the pilot the faculty of directing his course amidst the labyrinths of seas, of dispensing with the use of the stars of heaven, of elevating his course to all heights of latitude, to all degrees that he might wish to arrive at ; has associated him in the empire of the Trident, and made him the rival of Neptune. Such titles are equal to many Colonies for a nation's glory. Thus Italy, though a stranger to the Colonies, appears to have a just claim to their gratitude ; for it may be said that she reaps these without having had the expense of sowing. In fact, the various colonial productions which constitute so great a part of the luxurious consumptions of that delicious climate are to be had there on easier terms than in those countries who enjoy the right of proprietorship. The Italian, without subjecting himself to the dangers of the sea, or the murderous attacks of tropical climates, expects and receives the harvests of the Colonies at his own home, and regales himself with their sweets at less cost than the nations that export them, and who are lords of the soil where they grow.

CHAP. VII.

General View of the Product of the Colonies of Europe.

AFTER having given a sketch in detail of the colonial establishment of the nations of Europe, it cannot be foreign from our purpose to give the total product of all the Colonies, and to include in the same picture of the scattered tracts in the gallery through which we have passed ; for we must not lose sight of

tures spent in research, in comt
borious and painful enterprises,
previous labours had cleared away
soil, the fruits of which await y
care not to divert the course of th
that from which you have already
not to feel the strongest interest in
well would it be for the European
to sink deep into their minds to
slumbering over such great intere
from enjoying, like absence landlo
ties, the loss of which can alone n
of their entire value !

But how exhibit a table made
details which it is necessary to mar
and effects which it is necessary to
their principle as in the impulse wh
give to each other ? for the object c
is not merely what the parent states
Colonies, but also that which the
means of making the parent state p
procity doubles the product of the

or the fifty which it has received, in such case the colony is not to be stated as producing one hundred millions of francs, but one hundred and fifty, because it has produced fifty in labour in the mother country; which labour, were it not for the Colony, could not have answered any object, and consequently would not have existed. The Colonies and the parent states, therefore, mutually re-act upon each other; and to calculate the value of the Colonies correctly, it will be necessary to attend to this system of action and re-action; it will even be necessary to go a step farther; for, considering any Colony, when once formed, under whatever kind of government it may be, as the work of Europe, it will be proper to keep an account of what those Colonies produce which have ceased to belong to her, and which are no otherwise connected with her than by that great and universal principle which unites all nations, namely, commerce. It is thus that the United States, though separate from, and independent of England, do not cease to belong to our present subject, inasmuch as, making a part of the colonial creation accomplished by Europe, and consuming largely her produce, those states remain in connection with England and Europe by relations which political changes, and that of sovereignty, can neither interrupt nor destroy. In order, therefore, to give a just idea of the value of the colonies, they must not be considered simply in the light of what they actually produce, but as the sources and efficient causes of production.

Far be it from us to assert that the following account is infallibly correct, so extended as it is in itself, made up of various parts so difficult to be stated, and so unsteady in their details: the object is merely to give

a general view of colonial revenue, and the probable state of their situation with respect to Europe, and that of Europe with respect to them, so as to comprehend, in a very concise table, every thing which may help to convey information on this great branch of the wealth and public happiness of Europe.

	Francs:
Portugal receives from all her colonies	80,000,000
Of that sum the precious metals and diamonds make	35,000,000
She sends to the Colonies in her own merchandizes	10,000,000
The diamonds and precious metals are the produce of her sovereignty.	
The goods of Portugal are in the proportion of 1 to 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in this trade.	

Holland receives from her Indian Colonies, after paying the expenses of government, but	7,000,000
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It is well known that, for the space of ten years, the sales of the Dutch Company amounted annually to . . .	42,000,000
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But it is not known to what an amount of goods this sale corresponds, because the proceeds are made up of various branches, and because that Holland, uniting sovereignty with commerce, force with industry, has included in the amount the proceeds of arrangements made with petty princes, who gave, almost for nothing, certain articles which were sold at a very high price in Europe.

It is known that Holland, in the space of fourteen years, exported to the Indies, in specie 146,000,000

To the above proceeds must be added, those of the Cape of Good Hope, of Surinam, of Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia, which cannot be stated at less than 15,000,000

England is to take credit for one half of the cargoes sent by Portugal to the Brazils, which in the whole amount to the sum of 20,000,000

Consequently, there belong to England 10,000,000

Canada 38,000,000

Newfoundland and other fisheries 40,000,000

India, after paying all expenses 20,000,000

Carried home by Englishmen employed in India 20,000,000

* English goods exported to India 60,000,000

The trade from one part of India to another, that of the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, must be added, which cannot be taken at less than 30,000,000

† England carries on a great trade with the United States: in 1801 the English exports to the United States were as high as 155,000,000

The English islands of the Antilles 130,000,000

The carrying trade 15,000,000

The trade with the Spanish continent 50,000,000

* Humboldt, vol. iv.

† Ibid.

more than

Cayenne

Newfoundland

St. Domingo, Guadaloepe,
tinico

France consumed to the a
150,000,000 of colonial pro
sold the remainder; the a
that sale made the balance
to incline in her favour and
the amount of

Spain drew from her Colonies
Precious metals.
Merchandise.

She sent back in domestic or
goods.

Danish and Swedish establishm

The contraband trade of all t
lonies taken together.

Total Colonial revenue belong
E.

We must add, according to the principles before said down ; first, the commerce of the United States, which has been created by Europe, which in 1806 amounted in exports to 520,000,000 francs,—imports 200,000,000. Secondly, all the activity, commercial, mechanical, and agricultural, which is produced by the Colonies, as they are the object of it, and which would never have existed without them. Therefore, all that immense marine employed in war and commerce, which, for the purpose of keeping up the connection between the Colonies and the parent states, causes the sea to be inhabited like the land, is to be added ; and that multitude of cities also, which the Colonies have, in a manner, created, or ornamented, on those very coasts to which they themselves are indebted for their existence, and by which, in turn they have become founders in the very bosom of their parent states ; and that population which in both hemispheres, either labours for the Colonies, or fills the Colonies themselves, and adds a vast number of subjects to the sovereignty of Europe.

The English reign in India over a po-

population of	32,000,000
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In the Antilles and America	800,000
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Spain, on the continent of America, over a population of	15,000,000
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St. Domingo, the Havannah, and the Philippines	22,000,000
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France, in the island of Bourbon, in India, and the Antilles, over	500,000
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St. Domingo should also be reckoned, which she has peopled	400,000
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The Portuguese, in Brazil	3,500,000
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In their other Colonies	400,000
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Holland, in Batavia and Surinam . . .	600,000
Sweden and Denmark	400,000
<hr/>	
Total	55,600,000

To this number of subjects which the Colonies have given to Europe, in the first place, the population of the United States should be added, which amounts to 7,600,000 men; and, secondly, all the European population, which, employed in labouring for the Colonies, is indebted to them for existence, inasmuch as that population receives its subsistence from that labour which the Colonies create. If it were true, that France reckoned on more than 5,000,000 of men set apart exclusively to the production of such objects as the Colonies stood in need of, namely, men engaged in agriculture, in manufactures, in commercial pursuits, sea-faring men, men in civil and military employments by sea and land (the ties which unite countries so very interesting to each other are numerous, and calculated to multiply services of every kind), it would be found, by applying the same calculation to the other nations of Europe which are in possession of Colonies, that there are not fewer than 12,000,000 of men who owe their existence to the Colonies; and, by adding them to the colonial subjects of Europe to the number of 63,200,000, there will be a total of 75,200,000 living in the Colonies for Europe, or in Europe by means of the Colonies.

At sight of such a magnificent spectacle of population and of riches, far from exclaiming with Raynal, "Unhappy Europeans! why have you Colonies?" we will exclaim, Happy Europeans! is it possible to congratulate you too highly for possessing Colonies; for having extended the limits of the earth by their

means, on which earth you have been before in a state of confinement; of reigning, by them, over a multitude of unknown nations and climates? Happy in having found, by possessing Colonies, the want of, and the means of acquiring, a thousand funds of knowledge unknown to your forefathers! Behold, and recognize in every place the effects of these rich possessions: they environ you on all sides; they present themselves in every part; in physics as in morals, in your sciences as in your arts; in your cities and in your fields; in your workshops and in your warehouses; upon land and upon the seas: compare your present state with that which preceded those valuable acquisitions; mark what you were then, and what you are at the present time; you will not be unhappy in having had Colonies until, in consequence of mystifying yourselves as to their nature and principles, and with respect to the successive degrees of their growth and of their force, the necessary consequence of that growth, and consequently as to the obligation you are under of adapting your conduct to those circumstances, you will suffer those disorders to become general which afflict the greatest part of them: such are your real dangers, with respect to your Colonies; dangers more near, perhaps, than you are aware of. The interest of the grand scene which has filled the last five-and-twenty years has been so transcendent that it has absorbed the attention of all men; there was none for any other object. But now, when the calm is nearly restored, hasten to turn your eyes and your thoughts to the progress and the remedy of an evil which you will not discover till it breaks out, and when the opportunity of a cure will be already lost.

THE COLONIES.

How would they be able to restrain the ex-
pression of their surprise at the sight of that domina-
tion which Europe exercises over the other parts of the
world? In finding, in one place, a nation, by no means
inferior, reigning over a population double in amount
to that of Europe, spread over countries of a vast extent, and
at great distances equally removed from each other;
in another place a different nation, possessing almost
the whole of America, and possessing it without any
dependence on itself, and in prejudice to those which
might derive from it, powerless in every
part of Europe, hardly able, or not knowing how,
to resist there, and domineering over vast countries
in Africa, which it only inoculates with the leprosy
of its vices, and incurable laziness; in another
place feeble and thinly-peopled nations, enjoying
independence, and in like manner possessing every kind of
power over the parent states, which are hardly
able to supply sufficient guards for their defence. But

foreign lands, for that subsistence which the paternal roof cannot supply: sometimes the misfortunes of war, civil dissensions, the vengeance of one party of men of the same country against another, the desire of aggrandizement, or of wealth, give rise to Colonies.

Greece, no longer able, on a barren and contracted territory, to furnish support to a superabundant population, covers the fertile shores of Asia Minor with the excess; she founds Syracuse, peoples the part of Italy known by the name of Magna Grecia; sends into Gaul that Colony of Phocians, from which opulent Marseilles is proud to derive her origin. Tyre and the Phœnicians proceed to establish themselves on the extremities of the world, as it was then known, at the Pillars of Hercules; cover with their shoots that Boetia, which was the seat of the golden age, if it existed any where. Troy gives birth to Rome; Tyre to Carthage; Dido, flying from a barbarous tyrant, enriches Africa with a nation, which carry their industry and unknown arts to her savage shores, to establish there, in after times, the commerce of the world.

Æneas, escaping from the flames which consume his country, founds an empire which was, one day, to devour all others. Rome, sprung from the flames of Troy and from war, always savours of its cruel origin, and always lives in the agitations of the same war which gave it birth. That destiny which placed her opposite to Carthage, which she was one day to destroy, seems to have sketched, in that allegorical opposition, the pictures of Commerce and of War.

Europe, as soon as she becomes once acquainted with the new climates of the Colonies, and the routes which lead to them, thinks of nothing but of bringing those newly-discovered countries under subjection, and

THE COLONIES

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But if the foundation of Colonies among the ancients, had almost the same kind of origin as among the moderns, it must be confessed, to the glory of the former, that their principles were generous in a degree of which Europe has not conceived an adequate idea. With them, a Colony was emancipated, of right; Greece held no direct sovereignty over any part of Asia Minor, of Italy, or Sicily, which were peopled by her children. The relations which subsisted between her and her Colonists were those between parents and children, respectful and grateful. A connexion cemented by blood, and fortified by all the ties which are derived from community of origin uniting them together, sometimes disposed the parent state to fly to their assistance, as Athens and Greece frequently acted towards Syracuse and Asia Minor; but there was no instance of a nation, which had founded a Colony, setting up any claim of sovereignty over it, and not only of reigning over, but of appropriating the labours of the Colony, and of forbidding any communication with other nations. No traces of such a prohibition are to be found in the history of any ancient nation, no more than of exclusive trading Companies. These two inventions were reserved for modern Europe; and if the ancients, rising from their tombs, could see what is passing among us, in the midst of so many novelties that would divide their attention, the government of modern Colonies would not be the subject of their least astonishment. After rendering that justice to our incontestible superiority in the arts, in commerce, in navigation, and in those other objects which were unknown to them, which they themselves could not refuse us, without being under the necessity of humbling themselves, and lamenting their own in-

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which a Colony belongs, that the latter can have any thing to do, under all the inconveniences of such a restriction. An institution of this harsh nature is monstrous in itself—its consequences are obvious.

The ancients, therefore, surpassed the moderns in ideas truly colonial, as much as the latter surpass them in extent of colonial possessions. We do not find that Tyre and Greece derived less riches from their Colonies, from not having governed them on the European plan. They began with their Colonies, where, from the nature of things, Europe will end with hers; they at least gained all the time they saved, as also the expenses of blood and treasure to keep them in a state of servitude, and in oppressing them. The ownership of the Colonies, and the exclusive government which they are under, are the two essential differences between the ancient and modern Colonies. The first were, from the beginning, independent and free: they immediately became nations, or the sources from which sprung other nations. The second are nothing more than farms belonging to Europe, and, so far are they from being independent as nations, their owners think only how to prevent them from becoming so, and to restrain the tendency which they have towards this double object.

The nature of the European Colonies is, therefore, most certainly to be nothing more than useful domains, farms cultivated for the advantage of the parent state. We must not lose sight of this distinctive attribute, because it must frequently enter into that examination which we are pursuing; because it must serve as the point of comparison with the measures which Europe has adopted towards the Colonies; and, finally, because it must enter into the competition of that plan which

is to flow from the principles and facts which we propose to develope.

But those farms or estates which Europe holds under the name of Colonies, like those of great proprietors who reckon estates in different parts of the same empire, or in many different empires, are subjected to a multitude of forms which must, of course, introduce some into that government to which they belong.

Some are great, others little. The former constitute entire empires, occupy countries of vast extent; the limits of others are, on the contrary, very moderate and confined. To the first belong whole continents or parts of continents: the second enjoy merely insular positions. Some are covered either with an indigenous or adventitious population; others again consist of freemen and slaves. In some Colonies the primitive inhabitants infinitely exceed those of the foreign blood, as in India; in others the blacks exceed the whites; and who, in that proportion, exhibit a sort of masters placed between hands too often enemies, and always very much suspected. Sometimes the two populations rise or fall to the profit or disprofit of Europe, as at Bengal and America: English blood does not succeed at Bengal, while that of Spain increases very much in America.

The Colonies are also so circumstanced as sometimes to require a great expenditure in the way of guard: sometimes this charge is a very light one; for instance, a part of the Antilles is guarded by a handful of men, over which part nature has, in short, displayed those peculiarities of which art takes advantage afterwards in the defence of the soil which contains them; while large and open Colonies cannot be guarded but by the very

same means which countries of a similar extent always require—means which the great distance of the Colonies renders more expensive than in the parent states ; and which, consequently, depreciate the farm (as farm and Colony are synonymous). Each proprietor, that is, each nation, will carry to the defence of the Colonies the taint of their own character, and of that particular thing in which they happen to excel. One proud of its thousand ships, reaching at once all parts of the globe in their winged citadels, which they seem to know how to direct by instinct, will establish the defence of his Colonies upon them, disdaining, moreover, to shut himself up in those fortified enclosures which perhaps he would despise less if he were better acquainted with the manner of constructing them. And another, on the contrary, in the habit of making fortifications spring up in a manner by striking the ground—in mastering all the inequalities of ground, and of subjecting every kind of surface to the calculations of experienced and never-erring genius, will provide for the safety of their Colonies in bulwarks erected with all the advantages which nature may have given to the ground. The English, ascribing every thing to maritime superiority, will think of nothing but their ships: the French endeavour to make amends for the inferiority of their marine by surrounding themselves with walls and fortifications, similar to those which, in Europe, constitute their defence against their neighbours. It sometimes happens that Colonies are more military than commercial establishments, serving the parent states as arsenals and as fortifications for her other Colonies, so as to possess a relative, superior to their individual importance, and rather calculated to hold a political than a productive place in the Colonial order, contrary to the

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...nature of such kind of properties. France, ...
...re, preserved the isles of France and Bour-
...outer fortifications of her Indian posses-
...as alarm posts against those of England.
...nded annually on this object, exclusively
...a sum which far exceeded the revenues
...lands. St. Lucie and Martinique were
...ls of France in the Antilles for the pro-
...her other purely productive Colonies,
...Domingo and Guadaloupe. Antigua and
...perform the same functions for the English
...The Havannah discharges the same duty
...ct to Mexico. Every nation which enjoys
...Colonial possessions was under the necessity
...g establishments adapted to their preserva-
...rell as their improvement; they must not
...sacrifice of some money, nor even that of
...of the Colonies, for the purpose of retain-
...mpire more securely over the remainder.

whole, in which the advantages of the one made up for the disadvantages of the other : while, on the other hand, Spain, making no calculations, not regulating any part of her possessions with a view of advantage to the entire, expended annually great sums in the Philippines, and on St. Domingo, for the purpose of retaining possession, as uselessly for her Colonies as for herself, of two countries favoured with all the gifts of nature, and which, in other hands, would have served to establish and enrich the world : during 300 years these two colonies have cost Spain more than 6,000,000 francs, of which two-thirds are for the expense of guarding the country and the annual expense of sovereignty ; the other third for wars in which they happened to be engaged in support of the parent state.

The Colonies, like individuals of any class, pass through different ages, the gradations of which it behoves the parent state to follow, in order that she may conform her conduct to these gradations with respect to their possessions. But in Colonial language age is not the measure of time and of duration alone, but that of strength and manhood : one may say of Colonies, as of individuals, that they are young when, being still at no great distance from the epoch of their foundations, they have not had time to acquire the force which would enable them to do without their parent states, still less to brave them ; but when time has multiplied hands and riches in the midst of the Colonies ; they have acquired at once the means of independence and subsistence, and, above all, of resistance : when the Colonies, peopled by men of courage and reflection, have been able to discover their own strength, and to measure their position with that of the mother-country, they have already passed the age of

THE COLONIES.

the age of manhood is arrived: the parent, a provident mother, should change her conduct with children whom the plenitude of their powers too strong to have any occasion for being in a state of tutelage; then the family state is off between the mother and her children, in conformity to their natural wishes, aspire to independence of their own, and on their own account. That stage is of essential importance on the present state, that she may not rank nations different in the very same class; an over-throw may be attended with most fatal consequences. It was from that circumstance that England and the American Colonies, not having paid sufficient regard to their passing from one state to the other. In manner Spain finds herself engaged in a general quarrel with her Colonies, because she has not profited by the lesson which England placed before her. Distinctions are complete evidence and above

would those of the Colony, in like manner; for the latter could not consume but in proportion to her produce, and their increase is always the measure of her own consumption. Thus has nature formed between states, as she has between all her works, secret but certain relations; she has united them by the ties of common interest, and of the most beneficent dispositions. She has desired that happiness, instead of being isolated, should be shared; and it is she that has established that happiness is of an expansive nature.

Europe and her Colonies are in inverse positions to each other, without opposition of interests.

Europe, engaged in manufactures and mechanical arts, is become a vast warehouse, which seeks channels of consumption in every quarter; above all, she finds it to her advantage to send back articles in a manufactured state which she received in an unprepared one: her profit is, therefore, regulated on the degrees of industry and economy which she knows how to apply to the fabrication of those articles. For which reason, as England has adopted the most ingenious mechanical improvements, she is enabled to dispose of the produce of her industry at a cheaper rate than any other manufacturing nation, though the articles are fabricated from similar materials to those which other manufactories employ as well as England, but with a degree of inferiority in the processes employed by each: it is this which gives her that superiority in all the markets of Europe, and almost of all the world which is changed into empire, the more powerful too, the more it is voluntary. The Colonies, on the other hand, have nothing to give to Europe but the produce of their soil; all their riches are purely territorial;

they are totally without manufactures : the scarcity of hands would raise the price of labour to a height which would not admit of any competition. The Americans are as yet merely calculators. The Europeans are at once labourers and manufacturers. For a long time to come the Colonies will not possess manufacturers, consequently they will be dependent on Europe for a long time to come for all articles of art ; they will not redeem that dependence but by means of that in which, in turn, they hold Europe, namely, by that immensity of productions of various kinds which custom and riches have placed in the rank of articles of the first necessity. In such a state of things, it is evidently the interest of Europe to extend and strengthen the taste of the Colonies for the produce of her industry, particularly in proportion to the progress which the consumption of articles of Colonial growth is making among Europeans. There is a struggle between European art and Colonial cultivation, that the one may not gain too great an ascendancy over the other. This is an essential point in the preservation of the kind of balance which exists between the parent states and the Colonies. The object of Europe will be fulfilled when, without impoverishing the Colonies, she will find great vents for her industry among them, as she will have failed altogether, should she have Colonies which would consume none of her produce, and would, of course, want nothing from her ; a supposition, almost metaphysical, which cannot take place but in Colonies inhabited by savages, or by a race that had no taste for any, except objects of the lowest class in modern ingenuity.

As almost all the Colonies are situated at a great distance from the parent states, and as the latter can

hold no communication with them but across the ocean and a vast expanse of seas, maritime power is at once the base of Colonial power and that of the superiority between Colonial powers themselves. Thus England, though she started last in the Colonial career, has run the Colonial race with more rapidity and fame than any other nation. She is indebted to her marine for that superiority. Some she has totally, others partially supplanted. She is now in possession of the most productive part of the Colonies, and after what has passed during the last twenty years of war, she had to choose between the personal possession or the simple protection of the Colonies which detach themselves successively from the parent states, with which they were no longer able to hold any communication.

France lost her empire in India and Canada in the war of 1756, from the want of a marine equal to that of England. In the war of the revolution she has met with similar losses, and on the same account. In vain has she covered her Colonies with ramparts; of what use can they be when they cannot be defended by the mother country, as she herself is in a general and perpetual state of blockade, when no vessel can leave her ports, and no succours be directed towards the fortresses of the Colonies? Do they not resemble those places said to be impregnable, and which in reality would be impregnable against any force, but which are obliged to yield on account of the interruption of all communication from without? There is even this difference between the two states that naval superiority gives, the power of blockading the parent state and the Colony at the same time; whereas continental superiority is confined to the separation of the point

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parent state; and, without submitting to the enemy's yoke, they are obliged to submit to his protection, who assures them of a market for their commodities as well as the means of obtaining whatever they may want. Time will determine their future state as to sovereignty. In the mean while they live, produce, carry on trade under a flag which permits them to follow their natural career. It was in this manner that Surinam and other islands invited the English, we may say, to their relief. The latter no longer thought of attacking them; but the Colonist, separated from the parent state for many years, losing the hope every day of renewing his connection with her, must have thought of providing for his own subsistence which the parent state could no longer furnish. One flag alone is flying in the neighbouring seas and those which encompass him about; it would be madness in merchants (colonists are nothing else) to brave it and to engage in hostilities with it. In like manner it was evident that the long separation established by the war between Spain and her Colonies would bring the latter to adopt a similar resolution, and that they would renounce from necessity a parent state which sickened them by its impotence.

Let us collect all these principles together, and form from them a complete table of the elementary orders of all the European Colonies in themselves and in the present state of the Colonies.

the labourers and manufacturers who are wanting to Colonies.

10. The interest of the parent states is to cause a speedy consumption of the objects produced by their arts, and to compensate by their sale the expenditure in colonial products.

11. Action and reaction exists between the Colonies and parent states, in such a manner that the happiness of the one is the happiness of the other; the Colonies command the labour of the parent states to the same degree as the parent states command theirs. A part of the population of Europe arises from the labour which the Colonies provide for it.

12. Labour and the produce of the soil are in the Colonies, as well as in Europe, the first and principal riches: the precious metals are only the second, and signs of the first.

13. The parent states have had an interest in retaining possession of the Colonies during all the time of their youth; now, they have no interest except in their commerce and in the increase of their prosperity.

14. Exclusive Companies are, and always have been, fatal to Colonies.

15. The exclusive commerce established by the parent states, with respect to their Colonies, have been as fatal to themselves as to their Colonies:—it has not fulfilled any object which was proposed by its establishment.

16. The Sugar Colonies of the Antilles could not exist without negroes, and to keep them would also be impossible, from the increase of the black population.

17. The difference of colour is a source of great

and to consume its manufactures, th
to devastation by an attack, the obje
be to reduce them to a forced obedie
country.

20. The parent states ought to pro
of their Colonies to their population,
other means of guarding and preservi

21. They ought to proportion their
Colonies to the Colonies and marine
powers.

22. They ought to proportion t
their capitals, to the wants of their Co
to the progress of other powers, in
pects.

23. They ought to establish a proper
their Colonies, which would diminish
the Colonies, the necessity of addressing
the parent states.

24. Naval superiority is the first p
nial power: it is naturally stronger than
of force purely continental.

25. The superiority of industry is

26. The Colonies are not guarded by fortresses, but by ships, and by the constant communication kept up with the mother countries.

27. War is more injurious to the Colonist than to the European.

28. The interruption of communication with the parent states destroys the Colonies, is equal to a separation in fact, and leads to a separation of right.

29. England is the sole colonial power, through the union of all those attributes of which colonial power is constituted.

30. The nation which enjoys a superiority in navigation, in industry, and capital, is the owner of all Colonies. That nation has no need to take them into possession, but only to trade with them.

31. The stations which England has chosen on every sea render her mistress of all Colonies, and lay all other nations under an interdict as to naval power.

32. This state of things is very dangerous to Europe.

33. All the navies of Europe, together, or taken separately, are not equal to that of England.

34. Europe can never have a marine, but in the hope of an union with the marine of the Colonies, when they have become independent.

35. All the fleets of the Colonies will be the natural auxiliaries of those of Europe, against that marine which has the ascendancy in Europe, to whatever nation it may belong.

36. The powers which are inferior in their marine and in Colonies ought to do nothing for their Colonies; they should confine themselves to maintaining in them such a force as is necessary for the good order

These questions are, slavery:

40. These questions cannot be
alone, nor by one weak in Colonies,
the strong.

41. Exclusive trade ought to be
lished every where at once.

42. Slavery ought to be mainta
every where at the same time.

43. Independence is innate in th
separation of families is, in human
principle of their independence.

44. The question of the independ
lonies is not a question of the poli
natural, order of things.

45. The independence of the Col
more than the declaration that they a

46. The difference and inequality
first principle of the attachment of
parent state.

47. Increase of population, when i
Colony and against the parent state, is
ciple of colonial independence.

48. The propriety of

50. Colonies that are badly provided for by their parent states, find, in their wants, a principle of independence.

51. All the faults which the parent states commit, in their manner of governing their Colonies, form so many principles of independence.

52. The Colonies of Europe have arrived at the epoch of their separation from all the parent states.

53. The changes which have taken place in the condition of the colonial powers of Europe form a powerful principle of independence for the Colonies.

54. The interest of the parent states, with regard to the Colonies, changes sometimes, and passes from the exclusive system to that of liberty.

55. Colonies which are exclusive and offensive points, in the hands of the generality of the colonial nations, cannot belong to the power which enjoys a maritime supremacy, without doing injury to those very nations; they ought to belong to the weak, or to land powers.

56. England emancipates every Colony which she cannot keep; she abandons sovereignty for the commerce which emancipation gives her.

57. Colonies, separated from the parent states for a considerable time, may be more successfully attacked by measures of policy than by force.

58. Colonies may be attacked by the principles of independence, in peace as well as in war.

59. The enemies of the Revolution in Europe have been auxiliaries to the Colonies in procuring their independence.

60. Colonies with slaves commence with revolution, and end with independence. Colonies without slaves confine themselves to independence, and have no need of revolution.

64. Europe has a right to interfere between Spain and America.

65. Every European Sovereign to America, becomes an America to Europe.

66. He may become in America whose ally he was in Europe, and whom he was the enemy.

67. The separation of the Colonies country ought to be prepared before.

68. A separation, without any preparation destroys the Colonists, the Colonies states, at the same time.

69. The form of government is of no importance in the system of separation to it alone.

70. Europe can no longer preserve her colonies giving up those she has, and by acting on a regular plan.

71. The separation of the Colonies establishment of a great number of

72. Those states are more successful

75. Their establishment would be a means of tranquillity to Europe.

76. They would be profitable to Europe in general, to each power in particular, and to the ancient possessors.

77. These states should make their internal arrangements on regular and modern plans.

78. Europe ought to form establishments suitable to the principal wants of the Colonies.

79. She ought to provide for the increase of their population.

80. She does not lose the inhabitants which she gives them.

81. She has no interest in any population that has not European tastes.

82. She should apply herself, in her colonial discoveries, to multiply European population and European tastes.

83. The trade with India, burdensome to Europe, which is inferior in products and industry, is carried on by means of the precious metals, and acts as a drain upon the silver which is received from America.

84. Silver never returns from India.

85. The right of sovereignty in India may supply the place of the exportation of the precious metals.

86. The nation which is sovereign in India has an advantage over the nations that are not.

87. She spares European capital in proportion as she extends her sovereignty.

88. Europe has an interest in supporting the sovereignty of that nation which has the pre-eminence in Europe.

89. The sovereignty of one alone, in that country, is more useful to Europe than that of many.

90. The Europeans have been very imprudent in their communications with the natives of India.

91. England will no longer have any interest in retaining the empire of India, when the trade between Europe and India become equal.

92. The United States will separate from each other as they become great and populous, or rather, they will form themselves into a monarchy.

93. The embarrassments of the colonial system are terminated in no other way than by a Congress: Europe has the greatest interest to hasten that decision—the first of all interests, humanity, demands it.

94. The prolongation of the disorders in America opposes royalty to a complete abolition in that country, and Catholicism to very serious inconveniences.

CHAP. X.

Of exclusive Commercial Companies.

WHEN we consider the use that modern nations have made of exclusive Commercial Companies; when we contemplate that use, sanctioned by the consent of nations and of ages, and compare it with the effect which it has never failed to produce, and with the expenses which it has drawn equally upon the mother countries and the Colonies, we shake that in-

ward respect, which it is natural to feel for institutions that have obtained a sanction, imposing on account of the importance of their founders and their own antiquity.

For many centuries, Europe has known commerce only through the agency of exclusive Companies; and has employed this method, especially towards her Colonies, with an obstinacy and perseverance that must astonish us, whether we look at those who suffer the effects of it, or those who see them without understanding them, and daily resist the evidence of repeated facts. The institutors and victims of exclusive monopolies, that is, the mother countries and the Colonies, are equally astonishing in this respect; the latter from their patience, the former from their impervious blindness. There is no injury done to any individual, or to society at large, when an exclusive privilege is attached to the invention of any particular process of industry, and a wisely remunerative law gives to the inventor the full enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, by granting them to him exclusively, and is at once the security of talent and the spur to emulation, by rendering that profitable which is always precious. Society, on her part, performs a duty of justice in protecting a property that has an equal right with any other to her support. So far every thing is equitable. Free Companies, that are only the means of uniting intellect and consolidating capital, are very advantageous to a state, and therefore worthy of its protection; they can and ought to attain a much grander and more extensive result than private individuals. Their efforts are upon a larger and firmer foundation. Associations of this kind are an advantage, the enjoyment of which is not troubled by any inconvenience.

But very different is the case with exclusive Commercial Companies, associations in which a small part assumes the right of telling the rest of the nation, infinitely more numerous, that to these few alone belong such or such branch of industry, this or that species of commerce; that, being masters in the mother country of the price of certain articles, they will also be so abroad, and will thus enrich themselves by a double monopoly. Such language is so very revolting that it never would have been suffered, if it had been held openly, instead of assigning those deceitful motives, upon which, in every country, the concession of these odious privileges has been founded; this, nevertheless, is their real nature, their necessary and un-falling attribute. The system pursued by exclusive Companies has been, and always will be, to buy of the producer at a low price, and to sell to the consumer at a high one, and to regulate the quantity, not according to the want, but according to their own private interest; they are less attentive to the proper supply of the places which have the misfortune to be subject to them, than to the removal of those who wish to partake of their profits. Competition is the only object of their anxiety. The dragon, who watched the garden of the golden apples, is their emblem, and it is only while their vigilance is asleep, any body can hope to enter. The advantages of exclusive commerce have been always held out as the palliation of the odious part of it; but the answer to these assertions is to be found by connecting the words *exclusion* and *advantage*.—Who can entertain the idea of a nation, excluded for its own advantage. We must speak clearly, and openly declare that the word, *monopoly*, ought to be banished from the language of every civilized people,

and exiled to Constantinople, and other places equally enlightened.

Exclusion establishes a state of war between the holder of the monopoly and those who are subjected to it; the former labour to increase their profits; the latter to free themselves from the monopoly. They know too well that the high price of the commodity is owing to the want of competition, to the barrier that monopoly raises against all other traders. They know this, and to some effect; for all their endeavours are to escape from the yoke. It is a continual source of fraud, and consequently of immorality.

Monopoly places that part of the nation which is excluded from the benefits of it in a state of hatred and jealousy to those who are the holders of it. The former look, with reason, upon the latter as robbers, as an obstacle to their participation in advantages to which they have an equal right. In every country, monopolies have been constantly opposed by the most judicious and most numerous part of the nation, especially by the merchants, who, being generally better acquainted with the object of the monopoly than the very persons who enjoy it, would know how to take more proper means to accomplish that object. For this we can appeal to history, that in every page affords evidence of the violence of the opposition made by nations to the encroachments of any of the members upon the society, of which they form a part; and this opposition weighs as heavy in the scale of reason as the practice of governments enslaved by custom, or blinded by that darkness which has so long covered the principles of commerce—principles which, it must be said, are but just emerging from infancy in every

country, as will be proved in the course of the work.

It is to be remarked that England, the country where the elements of commerce have been developed the earliest, has made a more obstinate resistance to the establishment of exclusive monopolies, precisely in that part where they are most excusable, in the trade to India. This people, who seem born with an instinct for commerce, seem also born with a hatred towards its natural enemy, monopoly.

We recollect all that happened on this account at the commencement of the last century but one, when the parliament, in the name of the nation, took up the cause against monopolies, which being in vain protected by the court, could find no other resource against the attacks of their competitors, than that of admitting them to a participation. The same would have happened in France, if commerce had possessed legitimate and acknowledged organs for asserting her claims; the joy that has been shown by the commercial towns upon the fall of each exclusive Company is a sufficient evidence of their sentiments. Very different would have been the case, if government had consulted the subjects with respect to monopolies; if it had interrogated them upon the nature and extent of their wants, and the manner in which they were provided for by the monopolists; in a word, if government had been willing to open its eyes to the effects which have uniformly resulted from monopolies: it would have been convinced, by the experience of every country, that monopolies were at once the scourge both of the mother country and the Colonies.

Of the mother country, by only affording to the

consumers produce of the worst quality, and in the smallest quantity; a species of parsimony that has reduced the exports of the mother country to a very few articles.

Of the Colonies, in restraining their exertions by the penury in which they are kept by the monopoly thus exercised over them. For how could Colonies prosper that had only the worst and dearest articles of commerce offered to them? Has not exclusion been the greatest enemy to the developement of their powers? and have not Europe and her Colonies been, at the same time, deprived of the prosperity they ought to have derived from each other by this prolonged course of extortion? Can the millions and the possessions be numbered, that have been taken from them by the obstacles opposed to their prosperity? Facts, in such an abundance, come so much to the support of our assertions, and so well justify the severity which we have expressed against exclusive Companies, that we shall not hesitate in offering a concise account of these destroyers of commerce and the Colonies.

The history of the Colonies presents fifty-eight Companies with exclusive privileges; we have followed their course to the end, and noticed their effects. Of this number forty-six have suffered a complete ruin; eight have been suppressed, or have voluntarily dissolved themselves; four only have escaped the same fate, and have prospered. So the chances against the success of Companies have been constantly as four to one.

Holland has reckoned ten Companies; they have all perished, except that to India; the real state of which, however, is still a problem, the solution of which is hindered by the number of interests being much too

great for us to pronounce definitively upon its fate; though, perhaps, the very veil with which it covers its condition indicates, or at least affords a fair presumption of its destiny. Of five Companies that subsisted in England, four have been ruined, and there is now remaining only that to India, the incredible success of which has been occasioned by particular causes: the first India Company, however, suffered the common fate. The Guinea Company is a free association, and reckons among its members the richest merchants of the most opulent cities; so that it is rather part of the commercial body than a Company properly so called.

France is of all countries the one that has most multiplied experiments of this sort; for it has had twenty-one exclusive Companies; and, accordingly, has suffered more from them than any other country; and yet in this number we only reckon one of the India Companies that have been re-established many times without ever experiencing better success; we must add that the length of their charter made them resemble an alienation of lands more than a grant for the cultivation of commerce. France has tormented Canada, Louisiana, and St. Domingo, with her exclusive companies; they have all been equally useless or injurious; however, if they had been only useless, it would have been much better for themselves, and for the Colonies; but they have never failed being destructive to both.

Spain, that has spent three centuries in altering and varying the administration of her Colonies, and that has managed them with the blindness of insanity, reckons up eleven monopolies, of all of which the calamitous results are well known. Of this number, four have ruined the Companies who held them; two

ave been models of extortion and rapine to the unhappy Colonies, which they have ruined in their turn; three have not been able to await the expiration of their charters, which had become as burthensome to themselves as to the Colonies. There is now but one remaining, that of the Philippine Islands, the fate of which is uncertain; for as it is now about to be re-established, it is impossible to pronounce upon its destiny; it will depend upon the manner in which the great dispute is settled, that is now depending between America and Spain, for the Company will find itself involved in it, as the Philippine Islands themselves will be, without having foreseen it, and without the power of hindering it.

Denmark, with Colonies very limited in extent and in produce, has had no less than four Companies, which the usual wisdom of its government has not been able to preserve from a calamitous end.

Two have been dissolved; the third ruined; and the fourth prospers by the advantage of its situation in India; an advantage, which, from another cause, is nearly at an end, for reasons which we shall show hereafter.

The two companies of Embden have experienced the same fatality: dissolved or ruined, they only exist in recollection.

Those of Ostend have suffered a similar fate.

Portugal had the wisdom to exclude Companies from those immense Colonies which it long possessed with so much profit and glory. The want of them was no more felt than the want of those boasted advantages which have been the cause of their adoption by so many nations; and, though Portugal gradually lost all her settlements, it was not for the want of Com-

panies, but for the want of courage, wisdom, and population. Latterly, its practice in this respect has been more like that of other nations; but, by a most extraordinary inconsistency, it has begun the practice at the very time they have left it off. The same for monopolies was every where abating, and by degrees they were nearly every where abandoned, when, in 1756, Bombal, who was their minister, thought proper to introduce them into Portugal, when for the first time, the valuable Colony of the Brazil was left under an exclusive monopoly; but it happily possessed other sources of prosperity sufficient to counteract in part the mischief caused by this disastrous innovation.

When the United States of America belonged to England, they also had two exclusive Companies, which they have since got rid of. We see that America, being free, has not submitted to such a scourge, that there every thing is free in fact as well as nominally, and that in the ideas of an American, liberty and monopoly are no more consistent with each other than independence and slavery.

Thus, there is a series of facts, and, we may say, of experiments which have been tried, sufficient to determine this question for ever. There is no getting rid of evidence so clear as that which results from the facts we have just exposed. Let them argue as long as they please upon the consent and general practice of all nations, the assent of facts is still more strong; it speaks louder, and is susceptible of but one interpretation, without any extenuation, and without any mistake. In ethics, universal assent is certainly in some respects an irresistible argument; but in politics, and especially in commerce, it yields to facts, which

ave far more weight : and they acquire a new force from the consideration of the advantages that the liberty of commerce has always produced. If it is true, that liberty, substituted for monopoly, would immediately become every where a source of prosperity ; if it is true that all that perished or languished under exclusive commerce would have flourished in a free trade, it will be clearly demonstrated that of all administrations monopoly is the worst as well as the most odious. This comparison, and so to say, this counter proof, renders unnecessary any thing further on the question ; and with it we will finish the subject of monopolies. For it has been proved by a series of facts equally incontestable, since they have passed in the sight of the whole world, that we may everywhere date the prosperity of the Colonies, and their rise from penury and weakness into opulence and power, from the time that free trade was substituted for monopoly. To avoid too long an enumeration, it will be sufficient to quote Saint Domingo, and the Spanish Colonies ; two examples upon a grand scale.

Until the year 1722, Saint Domingo was given up to three exclusive Companies, which produced the same disastrous effects there as they have done everywhere else. The Colony was in want of every thing ; scarcely sent back any thing to the mother country, and still remained almost unknown in the markets of Europe ; but freedom of trade at length shone upon this land, which waited only for that to raise herself to dignity ; immediately the face of every thing is changed, and life and animation pervades the whole. Europe learns at once the existence and fertility of a country which fills every market with its produce, in quantity inexhaustible, and in quality beyond com-

position superior to that of the other Colonies. In fact, the sugars of Saint Domingo soon had the preference in those markets of which England had enjoyed the exclusive supply. The case has been the same with all the other Colonies; their history may be told in a very few words: crushed under monopolies, but prosperous and flourishing under an open trade. Could it have been believed, that ignorance of the principles of commerce, the neglect of governments towards their Colonies, and the avarice of speculators, could have so combined as to produce so odd a disposition of things as the grant to an individual of a monopoly over an immense Colony, of which the fertility and very existence is at stake, and which on that account demands the most paternal care? This is, however, what we have seen, and the act of madness belongs to the eighteenth century, though suitable only to the darkness of the tenth. Yes, we have seen in the last century a private individual have the impudence to solicit for himself alone, the exclusive monopoly of the trade to Louisiana, a tract of many hundred leagues; we have seen the government have so little regard for itself and for the Colony as to grant it to him. A complete ruin has been the reward of his impudent temerity, as justice and example required; but that the Colony should be the victim of it, as well as the mother country from having received nothing from her Colony thus rendered barren, is truly deplorable, and worthy the reprobation of every age.

Until the year 1778, the Spanish Colonies were under the yoke of a monopoly still more capricious, and more complicated than any which have ever existed; for it was not only personal, but also local, as

it confined commerce and intercourse to certain places, and certain persons. Thus, not content with having excluded from the trade to America, one part of her subjects, as well as strangers settled in Spain, and supporting the languor of the Spanish commerce by their activity; not content with having limited the number of trading vessels, with having regulated their cargo, and time of setting sail, and finally, with having interfered in every transaction between the mother country and her Colonies in a way that nothing could make its escape and suit its own convenience, government had wished to fix the places which should take any part in this trade; and as if it had feared that commerce should make too great a progress, or that the Colonies should be too well supplied, it had conceived the precious idea of confining to one port the right of trading to the Spanish Colonies, and receiving the returns. Seville was at first this fortunate mart; but the harbour getting choked up, it was moved to Cadiz, which, in fact, is a much better situation. The rest of the Spanish Peninsula, though encircled with ports inviting commerce, could not take any part in its operations; so that Spain imported scarcely any thing from her Colonies, and sent out to them but a very small quantity of her own produce; how could it have been otherwise, when to one man alone was reserved the supply of these immense Colonies, which would not have been overstocked if they had been supplied through a thousand channels? She had the heart to continue this plan, as lucrative as it was bright, for three hundred years; and neither the lessons of experience, her own poverty, or the example of other nations, who by degrees had left off the use of Companies and monopolies, had been able

to persuade her to relinquish this ruinous practice until the year 1778, when at length freedom of trade was granted to all the ports of the Peninsula, except Cadiz, though still under such restrictions as showed a grudge, or at least regret of the change. It was not long before the effects appeared, as can be judged from the following table :

In 1778 the exports from Spain to	
America amounted to	19,000,000
Returns to Spain	18,000,000
Duties	2,000,000
In 1778, ten years after this epoch,	
the exports from Spain to America	
amounted to	76,000,000
The returns to Spain	201,000,000
Duties	15,000,000
The returns exceeding the exports by	125,000,000

So that after ten years, not of real freedom, but only of its shadow, in spite of the shackles still subsisting, and the natural slowness of the Spaniards, this immense improvement took place. And it would have been still greater, if it had not been for the wars in which Spain has been latterly involved; and would have happened long since, if Spain had begun where she has ended. Of what resources has she not deprived herself? Of what riches has she not deprived the whole world, a necessary co-partner in that produce which has remained so long buried by a blind attachment to customs for which no reasonable motive can be found, and which, originating in error, have been brought forth in calamity? Reason falls before the prolongation of this injurious delirium, which, on account of the injury that it has done, calls instantly

for examination, and its natural consequence, reform ; for we cannot suppose that men with their eyes opened to their interests would voluntarily persist in a course which hurts them, and that they would not endeavour to free themselves as soon as possible from a situation which a most fatal experience has shown to be diametrically contrary to those very interests.

We have, without doubt, sufficiently proved our assertion, that a change from monopoly to freedom of commerce has always been the means of prosperity : so that we could not add to the two examples which we have just stated, without running the risk of weakening their force.

In vain have we sought, in vain must we seek, the motive for the favour which Companies and monopolies have enjoyed ; not a single plausible reason suggests itself. Could it be the riches of these associations ? But if the commerce which they engaged in was in itself lucrative, could they think that speculators and capital would ever be wanting ? Has any branch of commerce been deserted or rejected ? If any parts of the trade are beyond the means of any particular individuals, would they not understand how to unite and form themselves into voluntary associations, as well as they understand how to form themselves into exclusive Companies ? For any thing that can be gained, this is sufficient ; the genius of commerce will do the rest. Is it wisdom that has been looked for from these Companies ? But the answer of Labourdonnaye applies to every Company as well as to that of India ; when this company, Comparing with sorrow the respective condition of each of their affairs, reproached him on account of it ; " I have managed your affairs according to your instructions,"

answered this great man, "my own according to my judgment." This speech says every thing; it contains the history of all these so much boasted institutions.

Moreover, it is not the whole Company, that is, the aggregate number of persons concerned in it, who have the management of the affairs, but only a certain number of directors chosen by them, almost always by those means which constantly prevail in every association. The subaltern agents never act with the same zeal and economy as those of private persons, because they are less watched, and are less under the direction of those whose affairs they manage, and always partake a little of those ideas of dissipation and luxury which are generally attached to great institutions. They too often derive their taste and inclination for them from these Companies themselves, which are, almost every where, ostentatious in their establishments, as if their outward splendour was the proof of the inward condition of their affairs, and as though external brilliancy was a solid foundation in commercial matters; appearances may serve for some time to make dupes, but ere long every thing is discovered, and all falls to pieces. The expenses, moreover, of establishments and management absorb part of their funds and produce; so that almost every Company, on its dissolution, only leaves its moveables, and the inventory of its effects contains no other property than that, which, among the English shepherds, has been the origin of a proverb well known in England.

If Companies could be tolerated under any circumstances, it could be only for that kind of commerce, the seat of which is placed in countries very distant from Europe, and separated from it by a great dif-

ference in manners, language, and customs, which, bearing no affinity to Europe, require a particular knowledge in the trading agents for forming connections with the natives of the country, and for the choice and sortment of merchandise, both in buying and selling. This trade being very expensive, owing to the distance delaying the returns, and to the value of the cargoes being great, as no others would pay for their carriage, requires an advance of capital which private individuals are not able to make, and therefore militates in favour of Companies. This, without doubt, is the most plausible reason which can be urged for them, but yet these motives are far from being sufficient; for private persons, united together voluntarily, and without any exclusive privileges, would have equal success, and results exactly the same. On the first discovery of India, when this country and its manners were entirely new to Europe, there was a necessity for associations, whose exertions and risks should be indemnified by a monopoly; but now that usage and acquaintance with the country have rendered us familiar with this commerce, acquainted with all its particulars, the necessity for monopolies has ceased on the progress of that knowledge, the want of which had rendered it expedient to establish them; and there cannot be the slightest reason for retaining them now, when the substitute offers itself on every side. In vain do they insist upon the example of England, and the prosperity of her India Company; it depends entirely upon other causes than the monopoly.

The principal are; first, the national superiority at sea, which protects the navigation of the Company, and renders it secure from those accidents to which the navigation of other Companies would be exposed.

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over, we see the principles of commerce wandering or lost in the hands of individuals. Interest and necessity are two faithful trustees, that always go together, and are far better than those of exclusive commerce. To speak the truth, the English India Company is not a simple trading Company; it is one of the arms that the potency of England stretches over Asia; it is co-sovereign with England itself, and a part of the very power which protects it. The Company, in this kind of half-sovereignty which it exercises over vast tracts of land, and many millions of men, presents an example unique in the annals of the world, and a phenomenon which cannot be too much wondered at: if England was to take the place of the Company, she would only take back that which she has granted, and by this recall of her power to herself, she would render that single which is now double; and would go on as well in this new method, as she does in that which she now pursues.

The French India Company, instead of giving assistance to this kind of administration, has on the contrary been an obstruction to it; for without taking notice of the unfortunate end it has twice had, we may very fairly call to mind the opposition it has always met with in the nation, the immense expense it has occasioned, and the inextricable embarrassments in which it has never ceased to involve the ministry. It was as domineering at Versailles as at Pondicherry, towards the government of France as towards her tributaries, and as jealous of the ports of France as of those of England. In some respects, the English Company is the same: that also is a thorn to the government. Thus Burke, in his eloquent and judicious Letters upon the French Revolution, has not failed to remark

the weight with which this vast corporation presses upon the government, and upon the constitution itself.

The laws and the decrees which have been extorted from the government by the French India Company, or have been voluntarily granted to it, form an immense collection, with which a head, the most useful to business, could not help being confused: it is a mass, as ridiculous now as it was then inextricable. The Government would not have experienced any of these evils, if this branch of commerce, like every other, had been carried on by private persons; it would have been as great a gainer in tranquillity, as the trader himself would have been a gainer in extension, security, and in riches.

Thus the argument for monopolies, drawn from the trade to India, the last resource of this system, is far from being beyond a doubt. It is even probable, that if seriously examined, it would turn to their condemnation; and consequently there now remains nothing which can be urged in favour of this system, which universal practice has caused to be abandoned, in the same manner that universal practice caused it to be adopted. Let us hope that the sad recollections it has left in the memory of men will prevent them from ever reviving it.

CHAP. XI.

the exclusive Trade of Mother Countries with their Colonies.

EVERY mother country has monopolized the trade with her Colonies. To be the only people who sell to or buy of them, the only people who supply them, the only sellers of their produce, has been the system conceived by Europe, and followed by every mother country to secure to herself the advantages of possession of her Colonies.

This idea escaped the ancients, among whom we never saw Tyre or Athens compel Carthage, Boetia, Ionia, or the coasts of Magna Grecia, or of Asia Minor, to clothe themselves only with their manufactures, and to send their produce only to their warehouses. An ancient colony was left to follow the bent of its interest, and we have not seen that the mother countries and Colonies lost any thing by so doing. History does not show that the freedom of trade enjoyed by Carthage and Marseilles impoverished Phoenicia or Greece; on the contrary, it shows that they were favourable to the prosperity which this freedom of trade produced in their Colonies. We can then oppose the authority of ancient examples to the example of the moderns; and if the question is to be decided by authorities, that of people so much enlightened, should weigh quite as heavy as that of people ignorant

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commerce and its principles; for such were the Europeans at the time of the discovery and settlement of our Colonies. Descendants of the barbarians, who years ravaged Europe, governed by the laws of these rovers, who were acquainted with nothing but plunder and pillage, the inhabitants of Europe lived in the same state of the principles of society and commerce. At this epoch, the end of the nineteenth century, Europe was barbarous in its laws, civil and political, and especially in those of finance; it is not long since light shone upon these matters, and many others are still but very little removed from darkness. The Europeans suddenly found themselves in the possession of immense countries, the customs and constitution of which they were entirely ignorant of; they were surprised, one may say, with the extent of their riches; and as becoming richer did not make them more enlightened, they began to manage their Colonies in the same way they managed their territories in Europe. Between the European nations, at that time, there was every where a barrier and division, not any communication, hatred and perpetual war. They carried to their Colonies the system which prevailed in Europe, and established monopolies and exclusion there, because they had been established at home. At that time all trade and industry rested upon these two excellent pivots: for nothing further was known. A King of England had caused the teeth of a Yorkshire Jew to be drawn for the purpose of drawing from him some money. At that time all money business was transacted by the Lombards, Jews, and other usurers, who were alternately banished and recalled; they are the predecessors of that herd of money-dealers, who have largely drawn

teeth of the people, fallen under their heavy hand, who have almost all ended in having the same sector, Law. The art of gaining money honestly in abundance, and of gaining it abundantly, being gained honestly, was not then known, and has yet much passed beyond the Straits of Calais, at time of the establishment of the settlements in the colonies, which was in the reign of Henry VIII, and Elizabeth. England, which is become the land of commerce, as well as liberty, had not the slightest knowledge of the principles of the science of finance. France was a great restorer of learning, but not at all of commerce; and Charles V, and his son Philip II, had no other financial secret than that of dying of hunger, possibly speaking, with the treasures of America still untouched.

So that, in order to judge properly of the establishment of colonial monopoly, it is necessary to take notice of the time when they were established; it is not, as has been generally thought, the result of calculation or of reason, but simply the effect of the ignorance in which they were by whom it was established were living. As men are always more ready for action than for reflection; as their idleness induces them to prefer continuing in an old track to examining a new one, they have transplanted to their Colonies that which existed at home, and they have never endeavoured to do more for them than they were doing for themselves; and as they had done as much for themselves at home, the colonies were laid under a general law of monopoly, the nature and effects of which we must now examine.

When the barriers which were raised between every colony, and between the members of the same state, had

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Europe, by bristling it with toll-houses and
houses, what Paris was on the day of the bar-
when all the science of government was li-
stretching chains across the avenues to each
each state, was Europe in a more flourishing
Certainly not. From what time must we date
and new opulence? It is from the time that,
s and drawbridges having been nearly every
cked down, nations have been taught to know
er, and to communicate their information and
es, so as to form one common stock, from
ry one has the power of drawing according
ree of his industry and labour. In this me-
don has caused Paris to flourish, and Paris
London; Hamburgh has given life to Ca-
adiz has done the same for Hamburgh; all
connected, and all have prospered. Let us
principles to Colonies: what are Colonies?

title cost six shillings the pound. In the same manner; at Mexico, the working of the mines increases or decreases in proportion to the price at which the miner obtains gunpowder and quicksilver.

Mother countries have established monopoly for the treble purpose of strengthening their dominion, securing their profits, and recovering the expenses of protection and establishment which their Colonies put them to. The possession of a Colony, as of an estate, is not always profitable; for the expenses of establishment and protection almost always exceed the profits of the sovereignty: those of commerce, or of private persons, form no part of them. Thus St. Domingo, the Havannah, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Philippine Islands, cost much more than they yield by the revenues resulting from the sovereignty, such as those taxes which affect the land, or those which are commonly called indirect taxes. But the mistake of the mother countries will appear evident in the treble object they have proposed to themselves.

In the first place, monopoly, far from contributing to the strength of the dominion of the mother country, is the very thing which renders the colonists and all foreigners its enemies; the former are always ready to make themselves independent of it, and the latter to attack it.

The colonist feels his chains doubled by monopoly; for he is not only under the government of the mother country, but is also under that of each of her inhabitants, as being his exclusive tradesman. He is deprived of that right which nature has given to every man, of choosing his own tradesman and his own articles. Monopoly assigns to him both the former and the latter, without his consent, and against his

THE COLONIES:

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e last years she has done still more; for she
ed every place independent, or assisted it to
if independent, on condition that the mono-

on other accounts, is for the interest of the world. The Europeans being very unequally distributed of Colonies, and industry and capital being equally distributed among them, there necessarily follows an inequality in commerce, which carries the trade to that place where he has the superiority to that place where he has the advantage over a competitor who is inferior to him, and which, in like manner, leads the trade to him who offers the best bargain and the best commodities. But see the conflict monopoly at work in the Colonies. The people who have the superiority in commerce present themselves there to every advantage they possess; the Colonists, on the other hand, invite them with all their wishes; the monopolies alone stand opposed to all the rest. Therefore, the European Colonies lying very near to their geographical situation, their proximity, we might say so, their juxta-position; affords assistance to illegal intercourse; it invites it, and promotes it in every manner. Over coasts of an immense extent, such as those of Spanish America, no fort can be kept sufficient to maintain an exclusion, on a surface so great. Monopoly, far then from weakening the dominion of the mother country, increases and keeps up a continual state of war between the mother country and the Colony, as much at home as abroad, occasions a continual wish for independence. If free trade was substituted for the exclusive one, and commerce might be carried on with all the Colonies as it is with its provinces in Europe, these feelings of separation would immediately cease. There would be no other real motives for a Colony to desire a separation from its mother country, and strangers would have no more interest in separating them. If

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America was open to all the flags of Europe, and though less for independence, and those who establish it would have fewer pretensions to themselves of against a mother country, which thwart them in the gratification of their most wants. For we must not deceive ourselves; it is much less against the sovereignty than against the monopoly of Cadiz, that she has taken up arms; and it is because the policy of the one never presents itself but as superior to the monopoly of the other, that America has a dislike of both, and at once rejects them as means and the effect.

The first object, then, which the mother countries proposed, in the establishment of monopoly, has been realized.

If they endeavour to secure to themselves the trade of their Colonies, they ought not to throw out of consideration the prosperity of these very

from it to the amount of 10,000 pounds? How would it be injured by this change? But can we have the least doubt of its producing this effect, and of its adding infinitely to the wealth of the Colonist the very moment it should be made? Has not Martinico twice owed her riches to her release from the monopoly of the mother country, and to the substitution of the English and neutral commerce, which took place in the wars of 1756, and in those of the revolution? Who can doubt that the Colonies, with the freedom of choosing their instruments of agriculture, their clothes, and their provisions, wherever a cheap market and good commodities invited them, would not find in this freedom of choice the means of producing still more, and still more enriching themselves than they can do when they are able to go only to one market, and to monopolists forced upon them? That is the great dispute always existing between the Colonies and the mother country: the latter does nothing but drain her Colonies, and honestly thinks she renders them prosperous at the very time she is preventing them from becoming so. It seems never to have been understood that when the Colonist is richest, he will necessarily consume most, and that his demands on the mother country will be in proportion to the riches arising from the free scope of his industry; as we observe in the states of Europe, which always take the produce of their neighbours in proportion to their own internal prosperity: it is the same with the Colonies. Leave the Colonist to the free choice of the means of augmenting his fortune, and you will see that he will consume a greater quantity of the wines of Bourdeaux, and stuffs of French manufacture, and of every article which industry creates, either for ne-

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luxury. The laws of motion have been with respect to riches and happiness among men, as among physical bodies, no one can be displaced without the rebound being to the whole extent of the chain which nature has put between them, to unite, and not to bind. This has been nearly every where done.

The regulation of the mother countries, in the matter of exclusive trade, has not been more the second object they proposed than in the

These reasons have also deprived them of the which they hoped to receive from the

, by obstructing the complete development of the powers of the Colonies, is an obstruction to wealth, on which account the mother have been able to derive much less from them,

violate with impunity. The only thing, then, is to discover which side of the question has the advantage. If, before the revolution, St. Domingo, under an exclusive trade, produced by taxes a revenue to the mother country of 1,000,000; and if, with a free trade, it would have produced 2,000,000 or 3,000,000, as there is no doubt it would, was France guided by a very sound judgment, when, in the choice of system under which her Colony was to be managed, she preferred that which yielded only 1,000,000, to that which would have yielded three or four times as much? This is the solution of the problem; apply it to all the Colonies in the world; add to which, that the mother country, receiving two or three times as much more, would be put to two or three times as much less expense; for there is no system so expensive as that of exclusion, and there is nothing cheaper than that of a free trade. Exclusive trade requires armies of guards, of judges, of gaolers, and of executioners, while liberty goes quite alone; like truth, goes entirely naked. It is truly deplorable to see societies of men spending their money on their own fetters, and the best part of their fortune going in the purchase of chains for themselves. Ignorance, with its usual attendant, prejudice, has been the means of confusing so simple a thing; and in this, as in many others, men have been embarrassed by a thoughtless choice, while a very little reflection would have extricated them from the difficulty. We do violence to ourselves, and have overcome some feelings of shame, in urging this examination; but experience has shown us many men, who stand out against violence, on whose minds it makes no more impression than the light of the sun does on the eyes of one who is blind: men confined to that track in

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They have been placed, without knowing any
the way in than they do of the way out. It
our lot to meet sometimes with minds of this
specially among the Colonists, people animated,
respects, with honorable sentiments, but into
and the first principles of colonial œconomy
er, and who resist, with all their might, the
tion of the means by which they might
their own wealth, as well as that of the Colony
they belong, and who would brand with the
anti-colonist any one that attempted to raise
e from 5,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*, and perhaps
e.

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slaves, are placed, and, in turn, place the parent states, by obliging them to participate in their danger.

Here, we feel the necessity of collecting all our strength: speaking upon this subject, as we do, entirely divested of all feelings of affection, of hatred, as well as of all personal interest, should we notwithstanding happen to offend the feelings and interests of many persons; let it not be made a matter of charge against us: we have no personal concern whatever in this question; every thing arises from the nature of the subject.

One million six hundred thousand slaves inhabit the Colonies among a population of 160,000 whites, and 150,000 men placed at different degrees from that colour which is marked with the seal of slavery. The first are the means by which the second carry on their husbandry and acquire their riches. The latter are deficient in the quality of strength which belongs to the first, and which renders them alone fit for the cultivation which cannot become fruitful but by their hands, and which remains barren under all others. The ancient population of the Colonies has entirely perished, sinking under the weight of labours too disproportionate to the feeble organization of their frames to enable them to bear up against them. The labour of the negro is therefore indispensable to the Colonies, he is the necessary inhabitant of those countries. As soon as Colonies are taken possession of, a choice of two things must take place, negroes, or to abandon the Colony. We could no more represent to ourselves Saint Domingo without negroes, than Beauce or Brie without ploughs.

But if this principle of colonial existence and colonial cultivation was indispensable, the consequences

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are inevitable. Let us lay it down as a canon, that nothing happens but what ought to happen; that man gathers only according as he has sown; that the same seed which he may have taken by the hand, and sown with his eyes shut, the most salutary and the most baleful poison may equally produce; the gifts of Ceres, and the soldiers of Mars; this is what has happened in the Colonies. For 100 years nothing has been thought of but slaves. Riches, increasing from their labour, have led to the increase of their number, as the more any man had, the more sugar had he also; and the more sugar the more slaves.—Such was the

error, which is bad at calculation, never perceived, and reckoned any thing but hogsheads of sugar, that the nature of man and of things. The Colonies, destined to the cultivation of the sugar

placed under the government of the parent state, is not however wounded in points so very essential.

The multiplication of negroes must of necessity have led to such scenes as have taken place in the Colonies for twenty years back. Rome had to contend with her slaves ten times: Spartacus put the city in danger; and yet these slaves were Romans like their masters, or prisoners of war; but not, like the negroes, objects of traffic, torn from one continent to cultivate another, for the profit of masters living on a third: for such is the true state of colonial slavery. It was therefore evident a long time ago, that the accumulation of negroes would be the loss of the Colonies, and that the first favourable occasion for breaking their chains would be the last hour of their carrying them. And what proves the assertion in the most decided manner is, that the cruel discovery took place precisely in that Colony which was afflicted with the greatest black population. Saint Domingo placed her glory in the number of the slaves she could reckon up: what then was the consequence? It was the very thing that was working her destruction; her destiny was written in these two words: 500,000 blacks, and 25,000 whites. It is of no consequence for any one to say that this order of things had lasted 100 years. But Saint Domingo did not begin at first with 500,000 slaves, that number was the successive progress of time; it was therefore in consequence of this order of things being old, that it was about to come to an end. Is it not necessary for every thing to arrive at the period which is fixed for its maturity? What renders it secure is that it has been deferred till the proper season. They who have made slaves of negroes, and peopled the Colonies with those

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They who have collected 500,000 slaves at
Brazzaville, are the persons therefore who have
put up to them; in the same manner as they
filled the United States with 3,000,000 of men
every persons who have deprived England of
her colonies; as they who have given 15,000,000 of
men to Spanish America have taken that coun-
try.

Individuals form a horrible institution for
profit: they place their fellow-creatures in
a revolting situation: a combat immediately
exists between nature and that state: it cannot
be sustained but in iron and with iron. Ferocious
and cruel creatures are, in their turn, not sparing
atrocities against their oppressors; then it is
human butcheries take place, where death
to the support of the reign of terror every
perceive themselves threatened: behold the
errors in which this whole question, worthy

insurrection among those slaves before the time of the Amis des Noirs, and have you never heard of the councils contained in these insurrections? Nature is more ancient than the Amis des Noirs, and has no occasion for their assistance to enable them both to feel and act. Do you think that Toussaint Louverture and Christophe had any occasion to take lessons in the school of Abbé Raynal? I myself would lay any wager, that his name and writings never reached them. The Amis des Noirs have neither done all the good, or all the evil, which have been imputed to them. They have neither merited all the encomiums nor all the reproaches which have been heaped upon them. If the language of some of them has been fiery, have not those flames rather arisen from the nature of the subject, than from their mouths? How is it possible to speak in cold blood of millions of men stolen from their country—torn from all those affections which made existence dear—dragged over the seas to be given up to toil and labour all their lives, loaded with eternal hatred, as well they themselves, in their own persons, as the offspring which interested calculation will allow them to beget; and all this to be employed in clearing the fields of some man of whom they know nothing, who calls himself their master, who enjoys the fruits of their labour; the colour of whose skin is sufficient to keep him at an infinite distance from them? For such are the whole of his titles, and his entire merit. Wrong has not been done by those who have seen this state of things, and who have raised their voices against it, but by those with whom it originated. Did they then expect that it would never be noticed? There are, indeed, a very strange kind of gentlemen in the world!

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deny themselves nothing which may happen to their fancies, or which may suit the purposes of their ambition ; and when one comes to remark the state of things, and to redress it, they cry they are not treated with sufficient respect, in cultivating your fields with tigers, and will one day or other be devoured. You transport the Colonies, will it not one day or other endeavour to become mistress in turn ? Inconsiderate men use to start back at the sight of the fruit which you have grafted ; you should have looked to the root.

There are two principles which are incontestible ; the first, that the Colonies cannot do without negroes ; the second, that the Colonies cannot fail to be swamped up by negroes ; the time when they will do in the business ; sooner or later it must come. Give me vast Colonies, covered with a population of slaves, scattered in habitations at a distance

in itself, the mixed race happened to add to the embarrassments produced by the black population, and to the dangers which threatened the existence of the whites. Avidity has multiplied the number of the blacks; a voluptuousness, still more imperious in the Colonies than in any other climate, has multiplied those of mixed blood. The latter surpass the whites in physical force, and the negroes in intellectual faculties; they participate at once the attributes of Europe and of Africa. The mutual animosities of those kinds of population is extreme: since the revolution, they have not ceased to precipitate themselves, each party in its turn, on to renew the scenes of brothers engaged in hostilities with each other. When the negro Toussaint Louverture appeared at the head of the slaves, the mulatto Rigaud showed himself at the head of the people of colour; and since the negro Christophe has sat down on the new throne of Hayti, the mulatto Pétion has raised himself to the command of another part of that territory and of the population of the island. The armies and fleets of the two competitors are always in the presence of each other, and the rivalry of the two colours has troubled both sea and land, the two elements upon which this rivalry displayed itself.

Matters then have been so settled in the Colonies, as to place power in the weakest hands; that the negro, forming almost the whole of the population, is made the lowest step in the social ladder; and the white, who hardly reckons in this population, occupies the first place. The white is nothing in the Colonies but an exception, and at the same time he is every thing. Doubt, if you can, after this, if the Colonies can avoid being subverted one day or other. It is proper to add,

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Slavery* is a thing so very perverse of itself, that it is dangerous to speak of a remedy as of the evil itself; that it is a state of things so very outrageous, that even as one speaks of lightening the weight of the chains, there is danger of seeing them broken, and the slaves, by ferocious and irritated hands, into instruments of destruction. Could the genius of evil, with all his strength and wishing to torture mankind, be able to imagine any thing more inextricable?

The manner of viewing the question changes its aspect; it clears, if we may use the expression, the field, by removing every thing with which the question has been choked up by a crowd of idle arguments on the legitimacy of slavery, on the rights of the negroes and Europeans, compared to those of a thousand other fooleries of the same kind, as that vast tribe of weak or wrong headed men, who lay hold of, who never touch a subject

who always shun the strong hold of the argument, in which consists the application and the ordinary view. Every thing of this kind which has been written is almost reducible to this question, namely, Whether an inhabitant of London, Bourdeaux, or Lisbon, has a right to go and seize men in Africa to work at their sugar manufactories, between the tropics? Men must have a great deal of time to throw away, who amuse themselves in proving, with M. de Bonald, that the negroes are not in a state of slavery, and that after all it is better to sell six men than to kill one*—to establish, with M. Barré de St. Venant, that idleness being the mother of all the vices, and the negroes, of all men living, most tainted with and convicted of this most terrible failing, it is necessary to transplant them to the Colonies, in order to cure them of it; and that they who are habitually idle, not being

* *Concerning Slavery among the Ancients and among the Moderns*, by M. de Bonald; *French Spectator of the Nineteenth Century*, page 259.

The same M. de Bonald has said, in page 6, of his *Primitive Legislation*, published in 1802: Absolute power is built on fixed and fundamental laws, against which, says M. de Bossuet, every thing which any one may do, is in itself null.

In 1807, the same gentleman said, page 348, Vol. xxix. of the *Mercury*: Every society, or every power, well constituted; that is to say, founded on natural, reasonable, legitimate laws, ought to be, and in fact is, independent of men, and consequently absolute; for if good sense, according to M. de Bossuet, is master of things, reason should be queen of the world. Wherefore, one may say, the reason of power is the power of reason, and power should meet with no opposition; for, to speak philosophically, where would be the reason of opposing reason?

And a few lines lower down: It must be confessed that this scheme of policy is not that of false philosophy,—and still less that of good sense.

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...res sufficiently disposed to resign themselves
...the expurgatory labours, the constraint which
...on those occasions is considered in itself the
...al thing in the world, and the most salutary
...ect to the persons to whom it is applied.
...ccording to the luminous and humane prin-
...M. de Barre, all nations possessed of the
...nforcing mutual transportation, until they
...ave attained the highest possible degree of
...d labour. Should ever those principles come
...the Spaniards, and other nations who wor-
...nce, the favourite goddess of their climates,
...r threatened. The black population amounts
...tire European Colonies of the Antilles to
...men, that of the mulattoes to 300,000: the
...distributed in such a manner as to be most
...where the white population is the least
...go, for instance, reckoned but 25,000 whites
...population of 500,000 blacks. All the Colo-

slavery, we repeat, could not fail to become an object of most serious consideration with such men in all countries as can see and reflect, as well as a subject of great attention with governments who have to direct the movements of such great and complicated machines as they preside over. For which reasons both those descriptions of men have for half a century past been much taken up with the subject of slavery : the first have written a great deal ; the others have groped about a great deal ; but both have equally laboured in vain, because so perverse is the nature of the question that to raise it is to destroy it ; to touch it is to spoil it. The evil cannot here be separated from the remedy ; and, like an invenomed wound, to lay hands on it is to excite an irritation. Reason finds the evil to exist in the very essence of slavery ; it is so bad in itself, so heavy for those who lie under it, that they have and can have but one way of viewing it, that is with horror ; and but one desire, namely, that of being freed from it. It is not the same with him who has nothing more than to speak about it, as with the person who has to endure slavery. The subtilties, the balancing of interests, the measures of prudence which may occupy or strike Europeans, quietly discussing the subject of slavery in a state of freedom, are nothing to the slave : he suffers, and of course he exerts himself with all his force to put an end to his sufferings. He hears of a change, of an end to be put to it ; he, who understands nothing of all those contrivances, sees nothing in them but his freedom ; because a negro, like other men, is not inclined to believe but as far as he wishes and as far as he has occasion to see realized. He hears something said about bettering his condition ; he interprets this report as the signal of weakness or

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his master. He magnifies the object, he feels the urgency, he sighs after the result, he every proceeding which has the same tendency has a natural meaning to the meaning which he gives it, and consequently to that which is dangerous. Have we seen any thing else since the commencement of the troubles? And in these times, has not the conspiracy in Barbados been the circumstance of the registering of the names of that island being represented to them as a step towards approaching enfranchisement? We may be assured that there exists but one question with the whites and among the negroes but one thought, namely, slavery. Shall I continue in a state of slavery? This is the only thought which occupies the mind during his whole life, and it is by showing them that he answers them who talk to him of liberty and of his happiness. This state is so re-

There is right on both sides and from the same reason—the nature of slavery, which most justly excites the horror of one party, and which at the same time cannot be discussed without the greatest inconvenience to the other; for as soon as the fatal question is started, every Colonist sees his life and fortune exposed; and notwithstanding it is that which immediately presents itself to the negro at the very onset, who will not suffer his thoughts to wander from the subject and then to the owners of the Colonies, for that state is the primitive question of all Colonial organization. The Constituent Assembly could not get rid of the subject; Napoleon was brought back to it when he sent General Leclerc to St. Domingo. It presents itself incessantly, and every where will prove the torture of all persons who will have any thing to do with the Colonies, and it not only includes the Colonists and slaves as separate individuals living in presence of each other, but more it concerns the whole body of all the nations which enjoy colonial possessions; because it is a state question, the discussion of which is not confined to those to whom it may locally apply, but it extends also to all those who find themselves on the same line of position and interests. Slavery is by its nature such that it cannot be abolished by one and maintained by the others without the greatest inconvenience to these last; for it is a principle which does not bear two different decisions or two different applications: slavery cannot be abolished in this place and maintained in that, without the part where it is maintained being affected by the example of that where it is abolished. The cause is common, the result should be so likewise. For instance, when Denmark abolished, in 1792, not only the carrying

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at slavery altogether, by fixing the epoch of the abolition to commence after a period of years, she arrogated to herself the right of initiative of the most dangerous and illegitimate. A nation whose colonial possessions were circumscribed, and, consequently, by no means in slaves, might without any inconvenience give them their liberty, reserving to herself the right of keeping them under other restraint. That nation might act thus in remote seas, in possessions separated from Colonies belonging to other nations; but it could not do it in the midst of large Colonies covered with slaves, because that complex act—being at once from authority and principle of a political and moral nature, the latter not belong to that nation alone: the act being susceptible of a general application, and subject to a great number of interested persons, it consequently extend the sphere of its action to

the effects. A man could not possess the horrible right of giving himself the plague in any place; but still less so in the centre of inhabited places, because every thing which is expansive by nature falls under the jurisdiction of society at large, whose right and duty it is to attend to the effects of communication, of whatever nature it may be. That of an example having the same results is subject to the same laws. That the example is confined to a limited or extended object is a matter of indifference, for it is not by its bulk that we should value it, but its expansive quality. The precedent being of a moral nature stretches to every possible degree of extension, because morality does not derive its attributes from usage but from its principle, which in quality of principle knows no limitation.

The enfranchisement pronounced by Denmark was directly applicable to her own slaves alone: but from the example its influence was reflected on those of all the Colonies; and it could not be lost upon them; it became the subject of their reflexions, the object of their thoughts, the end of all their wishes. That law, from its coincidence with the ideas relative to the blacks, acquired from that circumstance new tone and danger. Slavery being an object of common interest, it consequently followed, that it did not belong to the party least interested to take a dangerous initiative, and that the example which it might give, without any danger to itself, or any personal inconvenience, might be very injurious to those who were in a different situation, from the number of their slaves; but, in a similar one, as to the principle of slavery. She should have stopped at the view of such

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ions;* to act otherwise was to behave as if the only colonial power, and as if the others gave whatever; as if the cause of the slaves was a common cause; to despise such legitimate hesitation, to hoist the signal of enfranchisement, the negroes, upon such trifling possessions, to hoist the signal of a general enfranchisement, ought to be, and which has been perceived at a distance. Isolated in the midst of similar interests, colonial speaking, is anti-social; there are, as these are, every where objects of common interest upon which it does not belong to one interest to pronounce, but where the sentiments of all that make up the community are indispensable. It is certainly an object of that nature; and so it is common to all the Colonies, as long as an

are should be taken not to draw any conclusions from observations of a general nature, unfavourable to the inten-

act which relates to it may also be attended with consequences common to all, a resolution could not be adopted in private, by one member of the community alone, without a violation of the rights which belong to the whole community. If some Colonists were to choose to carry and support in the Colonies a kind of insect which would gnaw the sugar-canes, would not all the other Colonists have a right to oppose it? And why should not the same rule be adhered to when applied to something infinitely more important to them than the cane, namely, to the very principle of its production? The states which hold but a very trifling proportion of colonial possessions, but which have, notwithstanding, certain equalities in common with the more amply endowed proprietors of those countries, in the midst of greater inequalities, are and will be long a subject of great embarrassment to them, until a better order of things establish among them, upon common objects, that hierarchy which their inequality demands.

England, on her part, opened a scene entirely novel, and did not contribute, in a smaller proportion, to widen the breach which was already made in the institution which governed the Colonies. The end, it is true, was grand; her motives were noble, her foresight was large, but such is the nature of this question, that to touch it in any manner is to poison it. The evil principle which threatened the Colonies could not escape the vigilant eye of the minister that presided over the councils of England, and it was not such a genius as that of Pitt, which could be mistaken with respect to the innate principle of destruction to the Colonies contained in the slave trade, as well as the necessity of anticipating its ravages, which were ready to break out.

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perceived that it existed in the multiplying
and that there was no safety but by striking
at the root of the evil, and by cutting it through;
he applied his efforts to accomplish the pro-
hibition of the slave trade. The suppositions, the
interested accusations with which it was
opposed to this enlightened act, are well known:
they represent the state of those men who are always
ready to ascribe shameful motives of conduct to
others: they should be cautious how they disclose
the secrets of their own hearts by such means. This
was so much the more generous on the part
of Great Britain, inasmuch as she enjoys the greatest por-
tion of the colonial possessions, and that she alone carried
on more than the half of the slave trade, and that she
sent the greatest part of these slaves to the Colonies of
America; that the produce of her fisheries sup-
ported them; but she had wisely judged, that these
were great as they certainly are, could not be

safety of those who were to live in the midst of them was no longer threatened. Surely such a course was the most noble and most enlightened that could be traced out, in so complicated a labyrinth. It is noble to extricate one's self from a difficulty, to the advantage of humanity and reason; and to such glory is England justly entitled. On such a plan she has never ceased, for twenty years, to direct her institutions and her proceedings: from it have sprung her African institutions, her religious and civil associations to extend the light of Christianity on the coast of Africa, and to naturalize in those countries the husbandry of Europe and the taste for work, as it prevails in Europe. Finally, in these latter times, after getting rid of the greatest war and the greatest dangers to which she had ever been exposed, England has made use of that preponderance which her services gave her in Europe, especially over the powers which have colonial possessions, to induce them to pronounce the abolition of the slave trade; doubly grand and generous in drying up the source of the crimes of Europe against a part of Africa, and those of a part of Africa against a part of Europe: in one hundred years hence it will be asked how one or other could have existed. By this act England has shewn herself the Guardian of the interests of Europe, and her defender in the Colonies, even in opposition to her own passions. She has led to it by the sacrifice of secondary, but valuable, interests, to the preservation of superior interests,—to the preservation of the Colonies themselves. The sovereigns who have seconded those views have surpassed what Montesquieu expected from them, when he demanded of them to suffer pity and humanity to be considered as something in their treaties; they have

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, at the same time, in favour of humanity
s, for the wealth of both hemispheres : there
any thing more worthy of them, more de-
the benedictions of the universe.

owers have refused to sanction the adoption
asure before the expiration of a term of five
ese are France, Spain, and Portugal. * The
s restricted the extent of the territory af-
the treaty ; Spain and Portugal deliver
s up with redoubled ardour, as if to profit
t moments of the liberty of this commerce.
erious necessity must have obliged these
ers to follow alone a route absolutely aban-
every people, because in the situation in
things of the Colonies are, they have thought
ld be able to add to the black population yet
but in following always the nature of things,
alculation that never deceives us, it is very
they sought after new brands to set fire to

they only found those which would cut their throats ; they were seeking their successors, the spoilers who should form the barrier which will eternally rise between them and the property they sought to fertilize : let them go and take it back to that crowd of Spartans who employ it for their own account !

The state of slavery, then, is fixed now by the public law of Europe, under the shadow of which Africa reposes. If what had been increased is not abolished, at least what is human is bounded and stopped. If the abolition is not general and simultaneous, it will be the fruit and reward of the slave's perfectioning. The coasts of Africa will not be depopulated : industry and the products of Europe will induce man to traffic no more with his own species ; but will present themselves upon these bounds, henceforth settled and cleared, only as the reward and encouragement of labour. All in this walk is humane, generous, regulated after the surest of all rules, the walk of Nature herself. By this enlightened return to the principles of nature and justice, Europe has carried back to herself the most magnificent triumph. If the abolition of slavery is made one of the first titles of the Christian's glory, the end of that of the negroes should be made one of the titles of honour in our century, and a monument of the superiority of modern over ancient Europe. Reason has brought this triumph of humanity, it is of the number of those that opinion alone can produce, and which will never fail her at length. What nobler use can she make of her strength ? In that Europe has conquered ancient Rome. After having triumphed over Sparta, Rome knew not how to profit by the lesson contained in this great achievement ; she never knew any thing but how to multiply

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and rivet their irons; she never tried to do any thing for their moral education. It would be interesting to know whether the crimes of this crowd of enfranchised slaves who proceeded from the bosom of slavery were less disgusting with corruption, and who surprised themselves with such eagerness to the instigations and executions of the forfeits of the Roman laws, do not take their source from the neglect of the mother country. Rome always shewed to the moral condition of her slaves; and if, when she was lost, she did not remain swallowed up in the midst of confusion, which she had forgot to disembarass herself from, loss would then have been her chastisement. The world is full of the dreadful recital of the scenes which have ensanguined, desolated, and ravished Saint Domingo from her fortunate country. There insurrection is on the throne; and the scenes which have followed it have been what might be expected from the unheaving of 500,000

clouded the insurrection, the situation of this country remained equivocal; independence existed without her name being pronounced; the deputies of Saint Domingo protested their fidelity to Paris; in their turn the commissioners of Paris at Saint Domingo made protestation of the tenderness of the mother country to the Colony, and from protestation to protestation they came to fighting and exterminating each other. A French army was sent to put an end to this rebellious fidelity, and put the Colony under the law of France. If the expedition had obtained any success, we may conjecture that the same hand which in the mother country put all under the yoke would also have had strength to fold the Colony under that of the metropolis. On these accounts the loss of General Le Clerc's expedition is one of the greatest misfortunes that has yet happened to France. After Toussaint Louverture we could not have seen Christophe; the expedition failed, the French army exterminated, the negroes having made a trial of their strength, the field of battle and the fields of culture remaining to them, the separation has been pronounced, and the throne of Hayti set up. Now Christophe and his black cohorts occupy in force Saint Domingo; the mulatto Petion holds one part of it; and it is on account of this double enemy that it must be taken again.

Here several questions present themselves.

First. Can St. Domingo be re-conquered?

Second. In what state will it be found?

Third. What is to be done with it?

Two things are necessary for retaking Saint Domingo, armies and money. Two things are also necessary for preserving St. Domingo, armies and money.

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embarking in such an enterprise then, we
n by reckoning. In a country like France
ter of War is neither embarrassed nor embar-
t is the Minister of Finance who is both at
the budget must be consulted before every
s nothing is more expensive than a maritime
for a distance, and made on a large scale;
to retake Saint Domingo it will be necessary
count by millions, and hundreds of millions;
serve Saint Domingo it will still be necessary
by millions; for Saint Domingo having no-
even in the most prosperous times, by the
sovereignty, what it cost, will return much
the latter case in costing infinitely more; for
Domingo re-conquered; will never be the for-
missive, laborious, and rich Saint Domingo,
Saint Domingo of twenty-five years' revolu-
tion, being a strong and expensive watch. If a
y of Occupation has appeared necessary in

cessary at first to balance the profits with the expense, and see, on retiring from the expedition, what it will have cost. But in order to be governed correctly in this appreciation of advantages and losses, we must begin by acquainting ourselves with the dispositions of the chiefs and directors of Saint Domingo.

We shall find there a cluster of accomplices united by the most pressing interests. France has long been fed with reveries on the divisions that were ready to burst forth against the chiefs to the profit even of the mother country, on the facility of seducing and bringing back some of them, of opposing Petion to Christophe, * and the mulattos to the negroes. They have celebrated the happiness those would enjoy who possessed all, when they would yield them a part; they have even said that negroes would not resist the happiness of living under a legitimate government. All these illusions, the fruits of inconsiderateness or the produce of personal interest, must be dissipated long before the very otherwise powerful consideration of interests that negroes have in resisting with all their might. This truth is very painful to express, because it must be alienated from all that passes in the Colonies, to figure to ourselves that men, one on the throne, the other established in possessions, surely very unworthily acquired, but held in force by them, will go of their own accord to give themselves to degradation,

* If any doubt had remained on this head, it would have been dissipated for ever by the success of the attempt lately made with Petion, who answered to this article of the constitution of his country:

“No white can be either master or proprietor of Saint Domingo.” When a negotiation is opened with such preliminaries, the conclusion is no more to be expected than the return is tempting.

After that, every white going to St. Domingo has no other prospect than of becoming a *negro*.

and to offer themselves to a new slavery ! For if they remain free and in their rank, of what use will St. Domingo be to France ? and what interest has she in retaking it ? We cannot proceed but with a view to the restoration of the authority of the mother country and the reintegration of the whites, and we cannot suppose what St. Domingo would be shared between negroes and whites, between free negroes and negroes the slaves of white men. There is a problem that resists all definition, and which would be eternally opposed to the use of St. Domingo would be of either to France or the blacks. There is no medium : the throne of Christophe must either fall or be acknowledged : the empire of Hayti must remain with the blacks, or the true St. Domingo with the whites. But it is in this disjunction that the inevitable necessity of war is placed. Are we to believe that the possessors of Hayti will deceive themselves : that they will cease one single day to watch France, and consider every movement on her part as any thing but the arrest of their degradation ? are we to think they will be divided ? does not reason, on the contrary, shew them all united at the first signal of attack, and pressing round the common cause ? Common danger would absorb all particular quarrels. It is not with the negro as with the European ; in war the latter at most defends the rights of a city ; the negro has to defend the rights of man, the rights of nature : the European is threatened at most with the change of a political master ; the negro is threatened with a change from that of master to slave. Let the nature and degrees of his resistance be calculated upon that. The Government is completely organised at Saint Domingo ; it has every thing that is found in those of Europe ; by a former triumph the negroes

have learnt to know their strength; they have seen a French army cut up; they have learnt to calculate upon the kind of defence most fatal to their enemies; they have had given them time to fortify themselves, of bringing their means of resistance nearer; they will not be surprised; for the announcing of an expedition, the time for preparation, will make them or let them know all. Then every means of destruction that the necessity of defending themselves can create, let us not doubt, will be put in use by men threatened in their most vital interests; then it is too probable Saint Domingo will have ceased to exist. The whites who have come from Europe will massacre the blacks; the blacks in their turn will massacre the whites; Heaven will dart upon them its devouring eyes; the earth will load them with its murderous exhalations; they will have to fight at once with nature and with men; the animal destined for cultivation will have perished, devoured by hunger by one, or refused by others for the subsistence of their enemy; the habitations consumed by flames, and, in the last result, the war will deliver up to the vanquishers and the vanquished but a heap of ashes steeped in blood. Such is the picture of every war made with the blacks in Saint Domingo; and the inevitable result of all brought against them. But, in this case, we do not see that France can employ her money and her soldiers to a worse

* We have read in the public papers that an epidemic disease had appeared at Barbados in consequence of the corruption of the carcasses of the negroes executed in such numbers at the close of the insurrection, and left unburied in this burning climate. Nature! how art thou outraged, and how art thou revenged!

[There is no foundation for the statement here referred to by the author.—T.]

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pose. This consequence is dreadful, doubtless; but it is not for us infinitely to announce it, but it is not for us to stop; it proceeds so visibly from the nature of things, that it would be inexcusable to be stopped by a pretended management from disguising this important truth. True wisdom is that which stops on the brink of the precipice, and not that which leaves false and delusive hopes to fall through its false light. The question is not how to please, but how to be useful. With negroes killed, scattered, established in a state of wretchedness, animals and habitations destroyed, what can they do with St. Domingo? The new law of the colony is opposed to her repeopling by the ordinary means of treaty: when this prohibition would not be a violation of the public right of nations, it would be found a source of poverty of the settlers, who have not wherewithal to purchase the legions of negroes their renewed habitations stand in need of; the settlers would be like the poor, who, by their defect of fortune, have not time

system. On one side we cannot overturn the throne of this insurrection ; on the other we cannot tolerate it on the side of those that Europe still occupies in the Colonies : there is but the choice of evils. This is where the long distractions of Europe on what passed in the Colonies is brought to. We have suffered an order destructive of colonial order to be invested : now that it rests on a long possession, on a strong organization, on the same danger that there would be to attempt to extirpate it by iron and fire, one knows not what to resolve, divided, as we find ourselves to be, between the inconveniences of the evil and those of the remedy. The latter are born from the nature of things, to which we must always come back. In reality what are Colonies ? Fields of cultivation ? or rather fields of battle ? You go and plant your camps in the midst of your crops : it would be better not to sow. If, then, we can only enter again on the ruins of Saint Domingo, in place of Saint Domingo itself, it is better not to go : we shall spare at least the expenses of destruction. If we were at liberty to indicate what combination, preservative against such a catastrophe, we thought we could perceive in a conduct like that which Europe has just held with regard to the Barbary States, in uniting to present themselves in a body, the colonial powers might perhaps make those arms fall from the hands of furious men, that they were not afraid to employ against a single one ; the aspect of so imposing an appearance would perhaps prevent the effects of their despair ; and they would return to reason through inability to deviate from it. In order to obtain this salutary effect, it would be necessary to take many previous steps : first, that Europe should make the most formal expression of her intentions of

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an end to the anti-colonial state of Saint Do-
secondly, that all succour and all refuge to
to endeavour to resist should be entirely pro-
thirdly, that the most favourable stipulations
made to the chiefs and inhabitants of the
under the guarantee of all the European powers.
This is understood, which is expressed with
diffidence, there appear only evils, and such
it would be much better to leave Saint Do-
itself, than to precipitate it into an abyss of
which would render it still more unproductive
than it is in its present state, a state more-
n is not formed for an everlasting duration:
rt, however sad may be the change which
ned to Saint Domingo, it does not destroy
ns of wealth, which are the object of all
nd of their connections with the mother-coun-
t Domingo has neither changed its soil or
with its change of masters: it continues

island, the two bases of the colonial system are sapped at their foundation, slavery and the exclusive trade of the mother countries.

First, with regard to slavery, how can it be maintained in the other Colonies, consistently with the emancipation of half of the black population in these countries, who, by their insurrection, have procured themselves liberty, and raised themselves to the throne, while those who remain slaves, will see those who have thus enfranchised themselves in the enjoyment of honours and situations, contemplating their ancient masters, from whom they have freed themselves, on their knees before them. The illusion of colour is dissipated; the white is no longer a man of a superior order in the eyes of the negro; the charm is vanished: it perhaps will never be created again. The Mexicans ceased to look upon the Spaniards as demigods, when they were convinced that they were subject to death as well as themselves. If a slave is the disciple of freedom, while his slavery lasts, does not this slave enfranchised, when he throws off his chains, become the apostle of this same freedom? Is it not necessary for him to spread it, to surround himself, as we may say, with so many ramparts to his own freedom? He endeavours to add to his own, by adding to that of others: one serves as the guarantee of the other. Have we seen any thing else for these last twenty-five years? Who has contrived all the plots which have come to light first in one Colony, next in another, over the whole continent of America and in the West Indies? And it will not be the last time that the Colonists will have to watch against plots, and to prevent an explosion; so much does the flame of these dangerous designs still exist among them. Was it not from

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At the missionaries came, the forerunners of
section in Barbadoes? Was it not from Hayti
armaments issued, which have been contest-
America with Spain, and which began by setting
waves of the kingdom of Terra Firma? Is it
the same shores that the new flag has sailed
the seas of the West Indies, and which
audacity scours the seas that are astonished
unknown navigators, pursuing peaceable
who fly before these formidable freebooters,
sors of those who formerly terrified these
by their untameable and ferocious courage?
we escape these dangers during a time of
peace, when we had so much difficulty to
ourselves from them under the shield of the
is authorised by war, during a suspension of
ry rights of liberty, and under the strong
of martial law? We cannot sufficiently
the following truth: that we can have no

he has obtained the first point, he goes to the second : such is the gradation marked out by nature. They begin with freedom of person, and then aim after freedom of trade ; this was observable in St. Domingo : as soon as the negroes were free, they opened the ports. Consequently, if the present system continues to prevail, St. Domingo will continue her connexions with all the commercial nations ; St. Domingo will become the free port of the West Indies. There never existed a finer one ; but will this freedom of trade in so great a Colony be compatible with the trade of the other Colonies ? How will their closed ports be able to stand a competition with the open ports of St. Domingo ? Do France and Spain, while they insist, with new vigour, upon the re-establishment of their monopoly, ask of themselves what they intend to do with St. Domingo ? Its freedom will be the freedom of the West Indies, as its liberty will give liberty to the rest. Le Blanc himself, a man so jealous upon the article of personal freedom, is necessarily the supporter of all freedom of trade. The very persons who shut their own ports, run to the open ports of others, and endeavour to partake of the benefit of them. This is the point in which the whites and blacks touch ; and, separated in every other, they meet here.

Nevertheless, in the midst of all these inconveniencies, however great they may be, and even because they are great, it is necessary to come to some determination : by always deliberating, and never resolving, we make no progress. What, then, is to be done with St. Domingo ? We will be bold enough to speak, in this general interest, and in this silence of all private interest, and we will speak with confidence. Leave it as it is, and endeavour to bring those men into a

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intercourse and community, whom we must
kill. And as we are not able to conquer it
e,* let us conquer it for the world at large;
e them to human nature, and endeavour to
n to it, as much as shall be in our power.
all be realized what Raynal demanded, in the
on of his work: "In order to overthrow the
slavery, which has been established by an-
ws, we must not strike off the irons of those
people, who have been born in slavery, or
grown old in it. These stupid men, who
be prepared for this change of condition,
incapable to act for themselves: their life
but an habitual indolence, a series of crimes.
gift of liberty ought to be reserved for their
and that even with some modifications....."
erwards said to the Constituent Assembly:
ve done much more for the Colonies than
mitted you to do, without having done that

tions with which we shall terminate this article. The first will be an homage to the Colonists, among whom, before the revolution, slavery had at once lost its rigour and its indocility; it had become at the same time more submissive, and softer: the master had nearly every where ceased to be a cruel tyrant; and the slave to be rebellious and threatening. In proportion as the chain became lighter, the slave found it so, carried it with greater ease, and showed less desire to break it. The slave became daily more of a domestic servant; his hardships disappeared amidst treatment generally more humane; and he occasioned less fear, in proportion as he had less to fear himself. The proprietors were, for the most part, aware how much their interest was connected with the good treatment of their slaves: some of them were fathers, as much as masters to their slaves, and the negroes most usually repayed them out of affection, with a just return of fidelity and love. There are a thousand examples of it, as honourable to the master who could inspire these sentiments, as to the slave who felt them. Great habitations, and that frequently, presented a picture of an immense family, where the white man resembled a patriarch, whose goodness he imitated; and the slaves, on their part, united around him, recalled to mind the first tribes in the golden age of society. This picture was becoming every day more common in the Colonies, so that the crimes of masters against their slaves, and those of slaves against their masters, were becoming very rare, and the proverbial expressions, as well as the exaggerated pictures of the condition of the negroes, were become false, and were absolutely destitute of truth: they belonged to other times, and did not at all agree with the present. It cannot be doubted, that there

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ard masters, unmerciful governors, and iron
the superior and commanding class; as well
ere are in the inferior and obeying, some
susceptible of the feelings of affection and
arising from good treatment: but the
these was very much diminished, and espe-
very small, in comparison with those who
ed another conduct; and it is of the latter
ve must speak, since they make the majority,
the whole. The positive state and general
of the condition of the negroes was inclining
continual but gradual amelioration; and
n was certainly, both for the Colonies and
aves themselves, the best adapted to fulfil
their extensive wishes; for being voluntary,
g from manners, and not from laws, it had
y more natural and more gentle, though
erful and more extensive, than that which
as could produce; because laws are, in their

the eyes even of the slave, a part of its horror: he submitted himself more willingly to the yoke which was sustained by so great a number of necks. The master, on his part, by being among thousands of other masters, as the population was always increasing in the colonies, was losing those inflated ideas which the ancient masters, being more insulated, had contracted, far away from the observation of witnesses; the gradual extension of the connexions with Europe, and the adoption of her manners, had introduced and strengthened among the Colonists the amelioration of their conduct towards their slaves. They were in the sight of too great a number of people to wish to appear in an unfavourable light, or to wish to be exposed to the contempt and detestation which a cruel conduct, even contrary to the general custom, could not fail to inspire. We like to remark this change, equally to the praise of the Colonist, and of civilization, which is evidently the cause of this improvement in the condition of the unhappy Africans. And yet, this amelioration has not been sufficient to restrain the slave, even when he had the power, from breaking his chains; heavily do they press upon him.

We shall not have the same pleasure and satisfaction, in making the second observation which we alluded to above; but the interest of the public, and perhaps, even the state of the Colonies do not permit us to be content upon it: it is to advise the greatest caution in receiving the plans which may be recommended by the Colonists. When they are consulted upon the cultivation of their Colonies, and the minute particulars of those countries, they should be listened to, as they have the authority of experience and local knowledge on their side: but in every thing which is be-

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line, in every thing which relates to public
in respect to the regulating and restoring the
system, we must take great care not to give
admittance; because together with them we
omit the illusions, and the considerations of
interest, which could only mislead us in
after truth in this question.

is a fatality attached to the name of exile.
re have been exiles (and which is now long
in every country, and in every time, they
ys been the same; as they have a uniform
must have an uniform spirit. They have
resented their return to their own country
est thing possible, and their dominion as
spensable; they have always said that they
ed for, invited, and necessary to the good of
y from which they are banished. From the
of Athens down to those of France and the
they have held but one language, and had

and illusions which characterize those of the emigrants. The spirit of the Colonist is not less incompatible with the Colonies, than the spirit of the emigrants has been, is, and always will be, with France. This spirit has cost her dear; from the beginning, it has irritated France, startled foreigners, and deterred them from labouring to place France in hands which offered so little security for the restraint of their passions and the justice of judgment. This spirit, which was mute and trembling during the empire of him who had opened those gates which they had never been able to burst, has resumed its course and made a true invasion on France, which owes to it a part of those evils which have obscured an epoch when tranquil happiness might have served as a consolation for the loss of so much glory and power. It is the same with the Colonists: with them, as with the former, most honourable sentiments, and the most pure intentions, two things which it pleases us to acknowledge, are very much separated from wisdom fit to judge properly of the state of things, and to guide them in the choice of remedies required; even their virtues are dangerous to them, by causing them to cherish feelings of hatred and severity which would still be an imprudence, and menace troubles, were it even possible to carry them into execution. There is a saying that no man can be a judge in his own cause; that kind of principle has confirmed the old adage, by showing the same men, from whom much might be gained if consulted on different subjects, deprived all at once of the faculty of reason as soon as any question is touched upon in which their own interest is found to be included. The observation is applied merely, in a general way, to the

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feeling of Colonists and emigrants. There are very honourable exceptions to be found among men equally fortified against arrogance as the deviations of reason ; some of whom have great fortunes and have submitted to severe trials with such firmness of soul as would have been their due to the school of Zeno ; and as if elevation of station attended that of rank, it is among the nobles that the most exalted disinterestedness and the calm of moderation are most frequently to be found. If in the moral as in the physical order of nature, pure air is breathed in greater purity in proportion as we ascend from the earth, and found to be so in proportion as we redescend.

Of the black population of the Antilles and the continent of America.

Antilles.. .. .	1,600,000
Continent of America.. .. .	1,500,000

CHAP. XIII.

The Constituent Principles of the Colonial System compared with those which have been followed by the Europeans.

FOUR principles constitute the colonial system and power.

1. To establish a proportion between the Colonists and the inhabitants of the mother country, either on the principle of extent or population.

2. To proportion the marine to the colonial possessions and to that of other maritime and colonial nations.

3. To proportion the industry and capitals of which labour is the source to the wants of the Colonies, so that they may not be too strongly attracted towards a communication with foreign nations.

4. To give to the Colonies such a government, with respect to their internal affairs, as will diminish the necessity of having recourse to the mother country.

We shall add, that those principles of colonial life should, in the same manner as those of the inhabitants of the parent state, be placed under the ægis of a constitution which, in the bosom of the parent state, enlivens, strengthens, guarantees, and confirms every branch of the colonial system—a guarantee which is indispensable, without which no colonial establishment can be of long duration, or be attended with any solid and extended effects as we shall prove by a

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at authority. It has been made a continual
crimination and reproach. Good minds should
d these last; but they would have found no
n pointing out other occasions for them.
tuguese, who first arrived in Asia, thought
but of extending their conquests; they, on
ns, neglected the elementary principle of not
a greater surface than they had the means
g, of doing nothing disproportioned, of not
swollen apoplectic head on a slender and
dy, no more than they would add a body of
ze to the head of a dwarf. In the political
in the physical order of things, every thing
respond; and the disproportion of parts, is
, is equally injurious to the proper organi-
ne whole taken together, as well as to the
of the springs. The Portuguese gave Europe
mple, which she has too faithfully imitated:
selves soon perceived the consequences of

the expense of such a great extent of conquests. She could no longer maintain them, except with the dregs of the nation, or by means of foreigners, who devoted themselves to her service. Here we may behold the real cause of the decline of the Portuguese establishments. The parent state was not in a condition to support them; there was no proportion between her and her Colonies. What a difference! If Portugal, consulting her own strength more accurately, measuring her protection and her resources more correctly, raising herself above that blind cupidity of coveting and grasping at every thing, had known how to adopt some principles of self restraint, to have halted in her conquests, to make some choice in the possessions which presented themselves to her, and to confine herself strictly to this choice, and, content with that which she would possess in security, to abandon the remainder! She would, by such a course, have avoided ruinous wars, the loss of settlements which was the consequence of these wars, and that state of weakness in which she has remained ever since. Portugal, from her ambition for over large Colonies, has ended with losing all she had; for, having wished for a complete ascendancy, she has been entirely effaced from the colonial system. Portugal, too weak to keep her Colonies, was not sufficiently powerful at sea to maintain the force which is necessary for a colonial nation; and which, by her maritime power, makes up for the deficiency of her continental, as is the case with England. The Portuguese have had great success, and great renown, before the creation of the modern marine; but since, the Hollanders, the French, and, above all, the English have become great naval powers, since the time that by the number of their ships, and their

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managing them, they have been able, from masters at sea, to become masters on land. Nations which have not followed the progress of the world remain in a state of great relative inferiority, and nothing in their settlements which was found for the purposes of their more powerful neighbours. Thus have the Portuguese lost, without resistance, every thing which any body was able to take from them, and now possess only what it may please the more powerful to leave them. This nation, as if exhausted by the efforts she made during a century, has fallen into a state of carelessness; nothing has been able to remove from her what she made her shake it off. Divided between the influence of a degrading bigotry and the voluptuousness of her climate, she has forgot her ancient glory, content with her recollections, has made no attempts to refasten on her brows any share of the laurels which shaded the heads of her fore-
fathers.

from that of other empires, inseparably connected with a certain period of time, and with the existence of certain individuals, has terminated with them, and what remains of it may be compared to the warrior represented by Ariosto as already dead, though still walking from the force of long habit.

Portugal has remained stationary in the midst of the general progress of knowledge and industry among other nations ; she has not regulated her march by the advances which they made ; and, in consequence of not having followed their paths, has remained far behind them. While the other nations were emulously collecting all the materials of maritime power in their arsenals and in their ports, Portugal confined herself to what was absolutely necessary in that as well as in every other department of government. Other nations sought by every means in their power the extension and the advantages of commerce ; Portugal abandoned hers to the management of England : she placed herself under the direction, and, as it were, under the tutelage of that power ; there she has vegetated, confining herself to the maintenance of certain habits, and an almost monastic degree of regularity in her dominions, contented with holding her place in the last rank on the great theatre of the world.

Such dispositions are not well adapted to make a nation masters of very flourishing or very powerful Colonies. In what state, therefore, do those of Portugal appear to be ? Those of Asia strike us with horror : They are the shreds of the former power of Portugal. Brazil has, by her fertility, struggled against the neglect of the mother country, and has wrought the miracle of getting the better of it. Portugal is indebted to England for the preservation of her Colo-

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will always prevent that state from being those affairs she manages for her own interest; neighbourhood of Spain which is next neighbour to Portugal, in America, as well as in Europe is satisfied with acting on the defensive, repelling the attacks of every kind to which those possessions hold out so many invitations, of meditating any against the possessions of she has had the good sense to perceive that possessions are sufficiently large already, that new ones do not suit her, that Portugal was not a wholesome neighbour in America than in Europe that, in short, every enterprise against her admit her with England her most formidable —All these considerations have been productive of a long peace between Spain and the Portuguese colonies.

Other nations were neither in a condition, nor disposed, to attempt such a conquest as that

points of colonial government; she has neither proportioned her Colonies to her population, nor her marine to these Colonies, nor to those of the other maritime powers of Europe: she has not bestowed sufficient care on the augmentation of capital, nor of her fabrics by which she might be able to supply this means of providing for the wants of her Colonies, and for their amelioration. We can speak only of those of Brazil. But the proceeds of that Colony are insufficient to cover the importations to which the inferiority of her cultivation and of her fabrics force Portugal to have recourse; for that country receives every year especially from England a mass of imported goods, which absorbs the 75,000,000 francs which it draws from Brazil. For which reason so completely has Portugal impoverished that country, that Brazil, so very productive of gold, possesses no more of it than the mother country; so that, as the last result, Portugal no longer governs Brazil, but for the advantage of England and the other commercial nations of Europe. The Portuguese Colonists are in want of an internal government, and are governed by the parent state upon her own model. Brazil is therefore governed by a vice-roy, with subordinate governors under him for each of the provinces, which are nine in number. This is the repetition of what passes in Portugal, in which the king causes the provinces to be ruled by governors, directing immediately under his own orders all the parts of the administration without any intervention of popular authority.

That government being of the number of absolute governments does not contain any of the principles of duration, of improvement, or such security, as a state governed by a constitution presents; the bases of

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fixed, and which leads the government to
only to consecutive plans always pointed out
national spirit, which in its union with govern-
serves it, and is preserved by it, in turn.

It was about to receive the punishment of all
revenge, when the flight of the king to Bra-
zil and its colonial condition, by separating it
from this valuable Colony by changing itself into a
and this Colony into the parent state. Had
the king passed to Brazil, Portugal would have
two ways:—1st, By the attack which the
could have made on that country, under the
a war with Portugal in a state of subjection
; 2d, From the independence which that
country, when separated from the parent
state, could not fail to establish in like manner
the British Colonies, and for the same cause, and
the same success.

first principle of colonial organization ; namely, that of a proportional equality between the Colony and the mother country ; but the population of Holland did not correspond, for which reason her Colonies were but very indifferently guarded. The re-union of Belgium with Holland has corrected that disproportion, and hereafter the kingdom of the Low Countries will suffice : there will be no occasion hereafter to confide the defence to men engaged for that service by ways too vile or too violent to be attached to it : or to have recourse to the outcasts of Europe, rather destined to fill the tombs of Batavia, than to defend its ramparts.

Neither had Holland attended to her marine with sufficient care. That neglect might have been the consequence of the particular position in which she found herself placed. Though she had not placed herself in a state of subjection, or declared herself the vassal of England, in like manner as Portugal had done, Holland enjoyed her protection and counted on her assistance, and that which served to afford her complete security, and to lull her to sleep was the certainty of sheltering herself behind the ægis of France, should England abandon her. Those two powers were her natural auxiliaries, the one against the other ; for which reason it had become an established usage to restore to her in peace every thing which she might have lost in war. England has always regarded the States General as an object of greater importance to herself. Long alliances had in a manner identified the two countries. In these latter times, England has directed her views and her efforts, in some degree, to the strengthening of Holland, in order to oppose her to France, and to make her a barrier to the north. England has done this by creating

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om of the Low Countries, a work entirely her

has recovered no more than a part of her
leaving the most valuable in the hands of
namely, Ceylon and the Cape, the loss of
akes the others which remain of no value, and
the colonial domination which England
over Holland, as well as over all other na-
ch are in possession of Colonies.

spect to wealth in capital and commercial
Holland had the advantage of all nations;
reason, far from fearing the competition of
in the Colonies, it was Holland that made
on her part; because, from navigating her
asier terms, and being satisfied with a smaller
was able to supplant all her competitors, in
ket, and to obtain a complete ascendancy;
s in every place where she is admitted. At
tion is made of capital and of

tions. The government was somewhat chaotic; and as it is in a state of darkness that men usually strike against each other, the long contentions between the monarchical and republican party, each supported by the elements which entered into the composition of that singular constitution, led to the revolution which took place in 1794, and which was introduced and accepted by one faction of Hollanders, as an expiation of that which had taken place in 1787, by means of a foreign force, the Prussian. This is a kind of revenge, which factions can never deny themselves. The nation found itself divided, because it was badly constituted; it was shipwrecked, because improperly ballasted: it would have perished, and have been effaced from the list of nations, if the state which had conquered it had itself a constitution to defend its own existence, together with its conquests, as will be shewn hereafter.

England, as well as the other nations, had sinned against the elementary principle of proportion between a parent state and her Colonies. This observation shall be found applicable to her three Colonies, and in the course of time to the fourth.

These are, 1st, The United States; 2d, India; 3d, Canada; 4th, The Cape.

The United States were too extended, and susceptible of acquiring too great a population to remain long the property of England; wherefore she was not able to retain them one hundred and fifty years. As soon as they found that they had acquired a population amounting to 3,000,000, they declared themselves free, braved the mother country, and shook off her yoke. The thing was unnatural: three millions of Americans felt themselves strong enough to resist, with

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le mass; the detachments which England
l against them. England could only put a
her population—a very particle—in motion.
could defend herself with all hers: she had,
no need to be equal to England in popula-
only in that part of that population which
able against her: these never amounted to
ten or twenty thousand English that could
attack her; and, on her side, it was with the
her population that she was enabled to repel
. The former were under the necessity of
long voyage, under all the disadvantage at
maritime expeditions; the American popu-
at hand in the country. The parent state
displace herself, in a body, as a nation; a
the contrary, can defend herself with the
of the presence of all its members on the
war. The issue of the contest could not be
and never will be doubtful against propor.

English troops : such disproportion speaks for itself. The English have had the art to induce Indians to serve against themselves for the advantage of foreigners, to make some among them to be their masters, and to enslave their country ; but all this will have an end : the moment will arrive sooner or later, but it will arrive. It is not difficult to perceive the end of that empire, in its increasing extent, and in the progress which its inhabitants will make in the manners of Europe. The last Indian General that will be formed in the ranks of an Anglo-Indian army will be the last Indian who will serve England against India ; and who will say how many Hyder Allys, or Tippoo Saibs, are already enrolled, or are ready to enter their army ? Twenty years ago who thought of Toussaint Louverture, of Christophe, or of all those chiefs of banditti, or of the councils which enjoy St. Domingo, or which govern it ? Who can determine to what lengths ambition, the love of liberty, and all those sentiments which raise the minds of some men, and turn them from their duties, may carry even Englishmen to conceive, concert, and carry into execution, this grand event ? India, enslaved by Englishmen, may be indebted to Englishmen for its freedom. Whatever may happen, at whatever hour the inevitable blow may be struck, England has equally violated the elementary principles of colonial organization ; namely, of never extending possessions beyond their natural proportions. It is easy to form an idea of the embarrassment in which England will be placed, from inattention to that principle, if three or four colonial continental wars, for which her colonial possessions can supply theatres, should happen to take place at the same time. It is not contrary to probability but that England may have to fight, at the

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me, in India, in Canada, in the great Colony of
the, the population of which, as well as that of
is different from her own; they are two con-
nations. Assuredly, a war in Europe, and with
ted States, would march in front of those three
tions; it would be necessary to face about a
ctions, and that would be difficult, dear, and
ous. England has been singularly fortunate in
ng, as yet, felt any inconvenience from arms
which, contrary to all the rules of prudence,
done in the face of the insurgents of St. Do-
This temerity has not ceased to be fortunate,
se are things upon which we must not calculate.
d has no occasion for any thing but ships.
Insular Colonies of small extent, thinly peopled,
ed by strong military positions; and so long
have ships, such Colonies as these will remain
te of subordination.

turn England has, by means of her marine

such of them as they find most to their convenience, as they have done in the affair of Trinity, and as they seem ready to do with respect to the Philippine Islands; whilst the Spaniards, inferior in naval power, can never assault the English possessions, reduced as they are to the necessity of maintaining the regulations in their ports, and the most strict defensive system in all their Colonies. Matters have even arrived at that point, that there is not one Colony of them which England may not convert to her own advantage, whenever she pleases; and there is none that can oblige her to act in the same manner, as is evident from the conclusion of the two last wars. Such is the eminence to which maritime superiority leads, and to which it has led England. It makes amends for the defect in her population corresponding to the extent of her Colonies: she guards them more efficaciously by her ships than others do by their battalions; for she prevents with her ships those battalions from landing in the Colonies; and blockading, at the same time, the entire *envelope* of the parent state, and all her Colonies, she makes it impossible for them to hold any communication. This is what she has carried into execution, on a grand scale, during the long course of years that the two last wars continued, which have exhibited her regularly besieging all the ports of Europe, all the shores of the Colonies belonging to her enemies, and tracing a line of demarcation between them, which nothing was to violate. Such are the effects of maritime superiority: it makes England amends for the disproportion between the parent state and her own Colonies, and those of others; and without that marine which makes her *omnipresent* and *omnipotent* by sea, how could she reign from Hudson's Bay to the Mouths of the Ganges?

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ed success makes any defence of her vigilant
tion to her maritime power superfluous.
, with a population inferior to that of France,
st one half, but with a marine infinitely so-
has finished by driving France from all her
: she has, not to mention her ships, attacked,
ed, and annihilated her fortresses, in which
rity and the glory of France consisted. France
advantage over England, in India, in the
of time, as well as in the pre-eminence of
er fortune under Dupleix had ascended to
ght which England has now attained. The
marine has destroyed that brilliant edifice,
olished on its ruins the power of the parent

have been and such will ever be the result of
e superiority in the affairs of Colonies.

reserved for the revolution to enrich England
xpence of the ruin of the whole world. to

two powers and in that of the elements upon which they exercised it. However excellent the French troops may be, they might be opposed with others equally good ; but there was nothing to be seen which could be opposed against the fleets of England ; for it cannot be disguised, that all the fleets of Europe put together were not equal to those of England alone. Where then could the means be formed of tearing any colonial conquests from her. War is no longer the method by which she can be deprived of them ; peace alone can oblige her to make restitution ; and negotiations, more efficacious than force, have in these latter times obtained that which force could never have extorted ; it is only under certain circumstances that men are able to judge of many things : for this purpose it is necessary that matters should be carried to the very extreme. Before these latter years, for instance, we could have formed an idea of the maritime power of England and of its influence on the colonial system in general, but we could not have represented that power to ourselves in the extended point of view in which it has really appeared. In reality, the marine of England had been observed in some wars, particularly in that of 1756, to display a great superiority over that of its enemies as well in Europe as in the Colonies ; but, on no occasion, had it displayed so decided an ascendancy, a power so very preponderant ; never had she been observed embracing all the shores of Europe, on her thousand arms, all the accessible points of the Colonies, and, like a wall, placing herself on the seas as a barrier between all parent states and all Colonies, forbidding all communication between them. It was necessary that matters should be carried so far to give a correct idea of

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al power of England. If it may be considered
ox, or as flattery addressed to England to as
at all the fleets of Europe are not equal to her
we beg leave to observe, that to confine our
to the consideration of the elements of the
by looking at the *materiel* alone, is only look-
the weaker side ; that it is necessary, above all
the moral dispositions into account, which are
e by their union to that physical force, its ful-
ment and all its action. For which reason, the
possession of ships and materials for ship build-
d of hands to navigate them, is not enough to
state powerful by sea : who can be prevented
obtaining such elementary materials of force
at which should give them their impulse is the
dispositions of all the parties destined to pro-
a motion—the proper direction which they
ow to impress, and, above all, the facility with
their movements can be carried into execution

realized, we will venture to say, that it is extremely probable that it would serve no other purpose than to establish her superiority, and to raise to her glory a monument unknown in the history of the world. We have seen a sample of this in the vigorous manner in which she suffocated the armed neutrality of 1801, even in the very port of Copenhagen; and to strike the blow she was not under the necessity of taking a single vessel from the ordinary stations.

This very superiority of maritime power forms besides such ties between England and her Colonies as are well adapted to keep them united together, and to act as a guarantee for the fidelity of the Colonies and of all the advantages resulting from them to the mother country: for, in consequence of that superiority, the Colony at all times enjoys the blessings of peace, and its state, it may be said, is that of perpetual peace. The Colonist, in the state of things in which he is placed, can have nothing to do in the quarrels of the parent state; they never concern him directly: yet as soon as they take place they fall with all their weight upon him in spite of all he can do. His happiness is interrupted, his essential condition compromised; for as that cannot be any thing else but a productive state, in order that he may have a source of consumption, every thing that stops that desirable motive, which, like that of the heart, is the principle of colonial life, as that is the principle of life in the animal world, every thing which interrupts relations so very necessary, is injurious to the Colonist, and, by continuance, becomes the cause of his misfortunes and his ruin; it cannot be beheld by the Colonist in any other light than as an obstacle to his happiness, an obstacle which it is his duty to remove whenever it is in his power. Such

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ached condition of Colonies that belong to
se maritime power is of an inferior class.
a war breaks out the great artery of their
is cut; no longer any circulation, no longer
nces or entries; cultivation languishes in the
barren abundance, which cannot now be
of to supply the wants of the growers. The
e parent state is stopped, the communica-
e whole world with the Colony interrupted;
may land, take possession, and dispose of
eases. Nothing of this kind either troubles
s the English Colonies: war carries on his
ound them, its brazen voice thunders at their
nds vain and idle! useless efforts! The fleets
d are there for the protection of her Colo-
der the shelter of her triumphant flag, the
Colonist cultivates and reposes in perfect
s the French cultivator does in France be-
mple rampart which covers at once his farm

is immense, and completes in the colonial order, every thing which might be expected from maritime power.

To this first and capital advantage England joins those which result from the superiority of capital and industry.

As England abounds in riches, and as the minds of her people are entirely turned to trade, the English can embrace every branch of commerce, the advances for which they can readily furnish, while other nations are unable, and are frequently under the necessity of applying for them to England herself. This advantage puts the English in a situation of not declining to engage in any enterprise, or of refusing any demand on the part of others, and of tempting, in all parts, the trader and consumer, by the advances which they make to the one, and the credit they offer to the other. The bait is too tempting not to be strong, and when once allowed, it is no easy matter to get rid of it, because the English possess the art of entangling their customers, in a manner that prevents from breaking off when they please. Their advances and cheap bargains introduce them into every business, and when once they have made their ground good, it is no easy matter to dislodge them.

When the consumers have tasted the sweets of credit and cheap bargains, which the English go about offering every where, it cannot be conceived how they will return to the high prices of other merchants; high prices which must progressively increase, even from their very poverty; for in proportion as money, the raw materials, and hands, become scarcer with them, the expense of commerce, which is made up of those three elements, must necessarily augment, and place the nation which sells at a higher rate in a state of

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inferiority with that nation which sells on
terms, and consequently must lower the one
the other, in the same proportion, in all the
of the world.

English, masters, by means of their Colonies,
which produces some of the articles most
er, in all the processes of finishing, are in
of the means of adding a value to their
eyond all comparison with their primitive
ey have the art of adding to it one hundred
cotton which grows on the English Colonies,
at a low price in Asia, in America, in Africa,
under their industrious hands, the most en-
orms, assumes the most pleasing colours, out-
en the nimble-footed goddess, called Fashion.
ish are before her in every taste and com-
n when they seem to obey her. The cottons
d have triumphed over their ancient rivals,
manufactures of France, Manchester, &c.

This superiority in quality and in taste has forced the manufacturers of many other countries to have recourse to imitation, without which they would find themselves deserted. It is only under the mask of *English* that the greatest part of their goods can show themselves, and that they can find a market. But their clumsy work, and the constant slightness of the fabrics of other nations, throw them far behind those whose name they borrow—the disguise cannot deceive any eye of the least experience.

This double superiority of capital and ingenuity has carried matters to the same height, in a commercial point of view, as their maritime superiority has in a political. England no longer has any competitors on the one side more than on the other, and she can no more be rivalled in manufactures than in fleets: foreigners cannot excel her, except in such articles of consumption as are the growth of their own soil, and with which England is not provided. Thus it happens that France, Spain, and Italy, have productions for common consumption which England has not, but that is all; for when they return to manufactures, or to goods for foreign markets, England resumes her rights and her superiority. It was upon such a basis that she built her commercial treaty with France. She opposes her manufactures to articles of primary consumption; and as the former afford the means of much more extended profits, the superiority of a manufacturing over a growing nation cannot be disputed: cotton, for instance, can acquire, in a manufactured state, a value thirty times superior to that which it had in its primitive state: the productions of the soil, on the contrary, always remaining the same as in their natural state, consequently remain at a price too steady

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of any change, but such as results from those fluctuations, which are the consequence of either a plentiful or a deficient crop. A measure of wine is thirty times above its ordinary and natural price; a pound of cotton, in a manufactured state, is thirty times its price in a brown state. It is productive of gain in the one article; it is productive of loss in the other; the value of one it reduces, the value of the other it increases ten-fold: the state of nature is the one; the other, in order to reach perfection, must depart from it as far as possible.

To apply these principles to the Colonies and to our subject, we shall ask, in the first place, whether superiority in capital and industry is not an unsafe-guard for the English Colonies? Secondly, whether it be not an additional arm raised against the Colonies of other nations, so that it may very well be that England may have occasion for no other Colonies but her own; but that which her own in-

the only motive of discrimination and of choice, that parent state which offers them this advantage is sure of a preference, and from that circumstance alone should become the country of their adoption. The English Colonies ought therefore to remain with their natural parent state, because it is, at the same time, that of their choice, and that which supplies them; because no other can give them the same advantages, and because they are attached to her as much by the ties of interest, as by those of right, and of blood. Nay more; should even England declare them independent, they would not be eager to embrace the offer, and would maintain their relations with her; the only thing which to her is a matter of any importance. Perhaps with respect to some articles of consumption prohibited, or exclusively monopolized by the parent state, the English Colonies might gain by the separation; but it would be confined to that alone. As to the separation of the sovereignty, it would by no means draw with it that of a separation of interests, which is the only thing to be considered with regard to Colonies; for a state retains Colonies only to derive profit from them; and if that take place, by one way or the other, either by sovereignty or commerce, what does it signify, where is the difference, and how is the parent state injured? England, therefore, retains her Colonies by the ties of their interests; she has that advantage over parent states whose Colonies, for the same reason, have the greatest interest in a separation; for, as their thoughts are exclusively occupied with their personal interests, as in the case with individuals, they must have a leaning towards that power that enables them to find it; and as it is England alone which offers it to them, they are attracted to her, and it is her superior capital

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try which creates that attraction. England has derived a third advantage from her Colonies, that which results from an excellent administration. All the different nations are in their Colonies agreeably to their peculiar constitution, and upon the model of that government which is established over them in Europe. Despotism and arbitrary government have fallen to the lot of the Colonies which belong to the southern kingdoms, which are subject to absolute governments. Liberty has been the portion of the English Colonies, peopled and governed by a free country. The English Colonists, notwithstanding their distance from the parent state, do not entirely to lament the loss of the government of their country from which they came. The only thing they have to regret is the soil itself; the government and its paternal laws live in the midst of them; and in full vigour there as well as in England. The Colonies of the Antilles and of Canada govern

portunity and complaints of the Colonies. One cannot see how, unless from extraordinary circumstances, the good understanding which subsists between them can be interrupted; for they have the least possible cause for coming to any misunderstanding: different from other Colonies, which, having no government of their own, but being governed in every point, and that from a distance, have to suffer at once from the change, and the ignorance of their governors, as well as from the necessity under which they lie of going to a great distance to expose their wants and to make their complaints. Let any one calculate how burdensome such a position is to the Colonies, and fatiguing to the parent state. What time and trouble it must take to make known the truth to men in other climates in any matter that concerns the Colonies. What perseverance is requisite to overcome the disgust, the formalities, and the tediousness of those men, to fix their attentions upon interests so very remote, to obtain justice against the inhabitants of the mother country, often times against the very agents of the authority whose justice they are imploring. This, however, is the state in which are the Colonies of all the states of Europe, with the exception of those of England. The aversion of the mother country must, therefore, necessarily increase with the increase of power in the Colonies; with the progress of knowledge; but, above all, after the example of the separation of America, and the success with which it was attended.

England has this additional assurance with regard to her Colonies; they have this one motive less for wishing to separate. A new bond is therefore formed between the parent state and the Colony by attending to the principle of giving an internal government ca-

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providing for their wants, and of lightening
of that chain which ties them to the mother

o has created in England, and for England,
ple and the means of that colonial prosperity,
immense successes? Are they the work of
the fruit of the labours of certain individuals,
of some fortunate circumstances, or of false
by the enemy? Assuredly not: all these
circumstances have favoured other nations
England; fortune or chance is not attended
readiness of this description; and see too at
stance she has left them all behind. The
that she had, which they had not, & consti-
ch has given a degree of stability to all her
other nations under arbitrary governments
attain to. The English constitution has
thing for England: her uninterrupted pros-
ted from the moment that it presided over

tained the credit, which paid for those conquests: the fleets and the warriors were the arms of that constitution; it is to that constitution they are lent, because by it has England been defended, and remained uncontaminated by the touch of an enemy, or by bankruptcy—two things very common in every state not defended by the same bulwark. The English constitution, by giving the English every thing which gives Colonies, has given the Colonies themselves; and it is by the same moving power which preserves them in their island that they reign over so many others. The English are at present the most powerful nation in the universe, from this circumstance alone, that they have been the first who enjoyed a constitution; their superiority affords a motive and source of consolation to other nations; it belongs equally to them as to the English; and they cannot be humiliated by the comparison, since, in order to equal it, they have only to imitate it.

There was a time when the names of France and the Colonies were joined together with the softest bands, and the most delightful harmony. . . . Alas! this source of happiness is become a source of tears! France, colonially speaking, is no more; she holds the lowest rank in the colonial system: it is not a century ago that she held the first, that very rank in which fortunate England now rules over the universe. France was then in the possession of Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, Louisiana, Guiana, a part of the West Indies, Senegal, Madagascar, the islands of France and Bourbon, and, finally, India, nearly in the same degree that England is at present in possession of them; for Dupleix and the other French commanders

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them to have traced out the plans, and laid the routes which have been followed by Lord Hastings, and the other civil and military commanders, from England has had in India. Siam, Cochin, and China were open to the French trade; she possesses no more. What has become of this brilliant edifice? What has destroyed it? It is not, as in Portugal, want of population; nor in Spain, want of industry, or aversion from labour: there must be then other causes, can they be found but in the non-observance of the principles of the colonial system, which are laid down? France wished for Colonies, without that which creates and preserves them, she desired the effect, but not the cause; she saw the value of Colonies, but does not seem to know what they depended upon; she wished to possess them, and turned away her eyes from the tree which hung. France also has always governed

those of all the nations who possess Colonies. She has within herself abundant means to provide for them ; she contains 25,000,000 of inhabitants, while England, with her three kingdoms, scarcely contains 12,000,000, Spain ten, and Portugal three. What a rich fund for a good and solid establishment of Colonies ; but France having neglected her navy, the members were separated from the body, its arms were not able to defend it, and the branches have been lopped from the trunk with which they had ceased to communicate. The navy is the channel through which the colonial sap ought to circulate, and when this circulation is interrupted, death, that is to say, separation, cannot fail to follow. But see what France has experienced from a multitude of causes.

France is a vast country, and of a great depth, in which, however great may be the extent of her coasts, the chief part of the people live far from the sea, and dread rather than like it, being terrified by the stories of shipwrecks, and the dangers of navigation, much more than they are attracted by the statement of its advantages. The capital is situated in the centre of the state, distant from the sea ; few sailors were seen there, and they had no pre-eminence ; in the interior of the provinces they were rare, and except in those which lay upon the coasts, they were never seen in any number. All the attention of the government was directed towards the army, upon whom all favours were bestowed : this was the consequence of the continental system, and a country cannot follow two systems at the same time. The navy in France has always been affected by having an inferior rank assigned to it, as the army in England has suffered from a like degradation ; because in all

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Every cause acts according to its own nature. We do not appear, by history, at any time to have turned their attention to the navy. At the time of the crusades, the fleets of Venice and the other maritime republics, conveyed them to the tombs which they sought to seek for in Syria and in Egypt. Since then, we have been engaged in wars against Flanders, against England, against Austria, against the sovereigns of the North, and against the Protestants; but, in all this time, they never once turned their thoughts to the navy. Louis XIV. wished for one, and Colbert created it by a word; but as this creation had the brilliancy of lightning, it had also its fleeting duration. The French navy, a brilliant, but passing meteor, was defeated at Cape La Hogue and at Vigo: some former splendid actions did not restore it, because naval power like this does not consist in a few scattered ships without connection and without consequence. The King engaged in the defence of his in-

of which she only granted the temporary enjoyment, while she waited for a favourable opportunity to take them, which has just happened. Was it for want of numerous or skilful armies that France was unable to preserve India, Acadia, or Canada? What at that time were the armies of England, in common with hers? Was it owing to a want of skill or enthusiastic courage on the part of her sailors? no; we reckon illustrious names in this career; even the history of the English navy does not offer any which can be placed above those of Tourville and Du-Roi. In all engagements between single vessels, a French ship has never been afraid of entering the lists against an English one. In the American war, the navy which was raised up by Louis XVI. appeared with honour upon the seas astonished at her expected presence. But all these efforts, or rather these experiments, though satisfactory to the hope of the nation, were insufficient for the effectual retention of great Colonies. France might have perceived what she had to do, when she saw England deviate from the fundamental rule of keeping maritime power proportionate to her colonial dominion: the example was before her, she had only to imitate it; by having fleets like England, she would have had Colonies equal to hers. It was not Clive himself who drove the French out of India and Canada, but it was the English Admirals and fleets, who, going together with the army against the Colonies, formed a chain which it was impossible to break, while the Colonies and armies of France, always separated from it, owing to the want of fleets, ended in yielding to an enemy who was relieved, without any obstacle, and succours from the mother country.

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was also deceived in two important points, then thought would make up for the deficiency of her own navy.

She reckoned upon the co-operation of the Colonies; a co-operation which only embarrassed her, as of use only to enervate every thing by the want of action, or to ruin every thing by acting as at Algiers and at Ferrol. The three last wars have been sufficient to cause the danger and the inutility of this system perfectly felt.

By this system, France also relied, for the defence of her Colonies, upon the fortresses with which she had garnished them; a defence which was insufficient, since the Colonies could not support them: and this want of support delivered them up to the enemy in course of time, from whom it is consequently more difficult to recover them.

The French government have shown a want of judgment, in thus pursuing, in the Colonies, a system of defence which is proper for France. For-

vinces of France, by officers sent from the mother country, and appointed by her. It was nearly a general rule never to admit the Colonists even to the most subaltern situations: this system was oppressive to the Colonist, and very unfavourable to the Colony, from the reasons which we shall hereafter show.

France, moreover, never having had a regular government, or what could be called a constitution, has suffered all the mischiefs that are attached to the uncertainty of that kind of government which is concentrated in a single man, who orders certain men to rule, in his name, over all the others. In France there have always been great men, but never great designs; the latter result from an idea being followed up, and from a system being formed which is connected in all its parts. But how could there be any sequel or consistency, when every thing was subject to that inconstancy which is a necessary property of the human mind, and to those variations which necessarily follow any change of the agents of this arbitrary authority, and even to those alterations which are to be observed in the same man, according to the degree of his age, health, or fortune: for a man is always three different persons in youth, in maturity, and in old age, bearing not the least resemblance to each other. Look at Louis XIV, how different he was at these three periods! A good constitution is the only thing which can secure us from the mischiefs inherent in the changes which form part of the nature of man. A constitution is the ballast which gives regularity to the motion of the vessel, and helps it to carry sail; it is also the anchor which fixes it in port, and which, by keeping it always near the shore, protects it from dangers, and from the violence of the wind and the tempest.

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has always been very badly off for institutions while England had them in abundance: the one has been a loser in the same proportions that the other has been a gainer. The causes, in the two cases, have been followed by their necessary effects: the one has fallen, the other has been aggrandised, the one, abandoned to all the vicissitudes which want of a constitution, has lost all her Colonies while England, resting upon the firm ground of a constitution, has strengthened herself by conquests so much, as now to be the entire mistress of the Colonies! France, though much better supplied with the means of supporting immense Colonies than any of the other European powers, has not succeeded in keeping herself in that high rank which she once occupied, owing to having neglected the principles upon which the colonial system depends. She has never blamed the industry and the capital for the ruin of the Colonies. She has never

with the Spain of America or of Asia. This state of languor, this universal decline, arises from the disproportion of the mother country to the Colonies, from the inferiority of her navy, and from the nature of her government, both in Europe and in the Colonies.

No country has ever carried so far as Spain the abuse of extending Colonies too much. In Europe she possessed only 25,000 square leagues; while, in her Colonies, she was in the possession of 120,000, twenty times as much as in Europe: this speaks every thing.

A nation which, in Europe, wanders over a country almost a desert, though only 240 leagues in length and 200 in breadth; a nation which, in Europe, beholds its villages deserted, its manufactories abandoned, and its fields without cultivation, requiring hands which it cannot furnish, has had the unthinking audacity to invade, to keep, and to attempt to cover with population, countries in which it would be entirely swallowed up. It was unthinking enough to burthen its children, though so thinly scattered already in the Old World, with the charge of peopling the new one: and, by thus dividing its blood and its strength; it can only form out of the weakened parts a body languishing and equally without energy all over. And the time, moreover, which Spain chose for this disastrous greediness, was after seven years of war against the Moors, after the expulsion, according to Bleda, of about 29,300 of them, and in the midst of wars which were incessantly bursting out again, and with possessions scattered over the whole surface of Europe. Spain was at that time in the possession of the Low Countries, Franche Comté, Sardinia, Sicily, the Duchy of Milan, Naples, and Portugal. Such dominions were a con-

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se of war ; for war was then nearly habitual
ation : and this prodigious dispersion of pop-
y making Spain a neighbour to all the world,
also always quarrelling with all the world.
is not a single page of the history of Spain
not stained with blood, nor a single period at
was not engaged in war, and in a war al-
ly unfortunate for her. Her armies, which
ys incomplete, were scarcely sufficient for
e of her European dominions, to which they
from proportionate ; and every year beheld
er possessions either threatened or destroyed ;
weeping in Europe, and nevertheless, at the
spreading herself over the whole surface of
and part of Asia. The inhabitants of the
were perishing in crowds, owing to the cli-
the employment of grubbing up the new
g so very unhealthy, and owing to the igno-
e manner of living which was proper in

interest would have dictated, and abandoned all the rest! The proper knowledge of her interest would have been taken for magnanimity, and Spain would at once have derived both honour and profit from this resolution; and would have avoided those mischiefs which she has voluntarily brought upon herself, from mere avidity without any real advantage.

How different even would Europe in general have been, if Spain, by making this relinquishment, had left for other nations that place which she holds with no advantage either to herself or others. They would have made use of it, and would have turned to profit that variety of productions which nature seems created to impart; their population, both more numerous and more active, would have embraced, have covered, and have cultivated this happy land, which has remained unfruitful and barren owing to the impotent laziness of the Spaniards. How much treasure, how many articles of use and luxury would Europe, in that case, have enjoyed, of which it is now deprived, and of which it is now ignorant, owing to a proprietor having the exclusive possession, who is as devoid of the will as of the means of searching for them. As the possession of two extensive Colonies has exhausted and ruined Spain, it has also, beyond doubt, prevented Europe from acquiring wealth; and, without making any compensation, has deprived it of immense advantages which Spain was not in a condition to make use of: one has been ruined, the other has been precluded from advantages, and the monopoly of America by Spain has been equally a scourge to the New and to the Old World. Such is the effect of this kind of monopoly, which, by rendering the owner disproportionate to his property, leaves the property unattended

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the owner without a fortune corresponding with the extent of his domains. The property goes to ruin, and the owner derives no benefit from it ; when, if the property had been more proportionate to his capacity, it would have afforded him as much wealth and far less trouble. The land would have gained by passing into the hands of those who would have come near it, and the public would have gained by this homage to the elementary principle that every thing should be in proportion to the wants of the individual. As much to political economy, as to domestic economy. It is as true with regard to states, as to individuals, the former can gain no more by the latter by giving farther than their exertions will allow ; and history, that unerring and incorruptible witness, has shown that states have always followed both when they have endeavored to go beyond their means. The poverty of Spain has always been in a low condition, notwithstanding all the means she has taken to

land of acquiring riches ; Spain is always looked upon less as an enemy than as a prey. Since the time of Cromwell, the Spaniards have never engaged singly with the English without being conquered ; they have always been led in triumph at London ; and from Drake and Blake, to Nelson, to attack and to beat the Spaniards were synonymous to the English. They have been not a little supported by uniting with the French fleets ; yet this junction, which was reckoned as the master piece of the two navies, after it had been effectuated by laborious combinations, never terminated in any thing very great. In the American war, the combined fleets wearied the seas of England and Ireland by their number ; they took, however, only a single English vessel which had missed her course, and they neither could nor would attack the shores which they threatened ; neither were they able to attack Gibraltar, nor to prevent supplies from reaching it, or to punish the English for attempting to supply it ; and they were neither able nor willing to combine in America, in order to attack Jamaica and wipe off the affront of the twelfth of April.

Let us see what part the navy of Spain has played in these last wars : it was a prisoner at Cadiz, and only left this prison for that of Brest, its destruction was begun at Ferrol, and completed at Trafalgar ; it received the most mortifying blow from Admiral St. Vincent, and all the talents of Massaredo only ended in preserving Cadiz from a bombardment, and nature did still more for the defence of the place than the art of Spain did : and finally it abandoned Trinidad to the English, and its vessels to the flames. This naval inferiority of the Spaniards, is so much the more prejudicial to them, owing to the immense extent of Colo-

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have to defend : for which all the power of
could hardly be sufficient. Thus all their Co-
le the war lasted, were at the mercy of their
and if they have escaped, it was because
ook them would have been at as much trouble
e and defend them as the Spaniards them-
e. It was for this reason that the English
hemselves to the attack of places easy to be
such as Trinidad, which place was also ad-
s to them from its vicinity to the Spanish
but though the English did not seize upon
h Colonies, they blocked them up as well
other country ; they cut off all communica-
en them : for six years nothing entered into,
ut of Cadiz. The great Spanish Colonies
ed many years without hearing from the
untry : every thing that has endeavoured to
ugh the barrier has been stopped and seized.
means of communication was through some

manufacturing them ; and the mother country was in the same condition for want of metals, while she was wallowing in manufactures. To this state has an inferiority at sea reduced Spain, and thus kept it chained up for fifteen years ; for she was no more able to make peace, than she was fit to make war ; and after this, need we ask the cause of the American independence. The answer is simple, it was the blockade of Cadiz. Spain, like France, thought she could make up for the insufficiency of her navy by erecting and multiplying fortresses in her Colonies. In this she made the same mistake as France, and, like France, has thrown away her time and money, for want of knowing upon what the defence of the Colonies depended, and how great the difference was between fortresses in the Colonies which were supported by the fleet, and fortresses destitute of this support.

In the war of 1756, Spain was very slow in determining to take a part, on account of her family compact: this war cost her the Havannah and Manilla, where the English made an immense booty. What conclusion did she draw from this? Why, that these two possessions were not sufficiently fortified, and immediately began to work in the Havannah and at Cavita, at an immense expense. What could she expect to get by this? Did she think that Colonies can be defended by ramparts, without ships, or else by ships, without ramparts. There was a strange mistake in this calculation ; for, through the want of the supplies which these vessels alone could bring them, fortresses must surrender, in the Colonies as well as in Europe, when they are not victualled, and this has always been the case.

On the other hand, Spain, far from having propor-

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agricultural labour and her industry to the Colonies, has always laboured in a contrary she, in this light, presents a spectacle really e. Spain finds herself suddenly in the possession of an immense extent of territory. What does she do? Does she turn her views towards their production which ought to be her own? Does she endeavour to cherish and excite in her own bosom the fire to kindle the activity of labour, which must supply the wants of the New World that has become her share? She takes care not to do that which might be proper for the English, or for the French, but the Spaniards act in quite a different manner. They, in the first place, begin by exterminating the Indians, with whom they ought to have formed a connection, and whom they would have supplied with the articles of consumption; but in every way they have been too well-off: they, therefore, hasten to destroy it by killing every body. Having made

never before known in the world. But as nothing is more blind and unproductive than tyranny, it has come to pass, by means of this logic in governing, which has been followed for two centuries, that Spain has done nothing for her Colonies; and that her Colonies, in their turn, have not been of the least use to her. All that has come from them has only passed through her; nothing has stopped. Spain, never trading with her Colonies from her own stock, has only served as a channel for the commodities of strangers, for the produce of the fields and the manufactories of foreigners. Spain is, in a great measure, only the broker of Europe, or the place of residence of the factors between Europe and America. If we ever saw any system more whimsical in itself, we never have seen any one less lucrative to the mother country. The conduct of Spain towards her Colonies has always been, not to raise them together with herself, but to lower them to her own level, to secure their submission by keeping them in poverty, and to weaken them in order to be sure of the possession of them: she seems to have regretted not being able to bury them entirely. The Spaniards, far from having made use of the discovery and possession of their Colonies, to increase their labour and industry; have only considered them as the means of augmenting the amount of their bullion: they have seen nothing in them, except that precious metals may be found and extracted: they have taken the effect for the cause, and have wished to possess the object, without the means which produce it and to have the money before the labour, when, in the order of nature, it ought only to come after it. This mistake, by putting Spain in a wrong road, has placed her in the same condition she would

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she possessed no Colonies: for what does it
whether she has them, or not, if she derives no
from them, or only derives it for the benefit

The consequences of this system have been
could naturally be expected. Spain, though
received from her Colonies sums, which can
ed only by millions; and, under a more co-
system, would have received even twice as
of all the countries of Europe, the one where
he least plentiful, and where the government
rest, the people the most naked, manufac-
most scarce and most imperfect, and where
nforts of life are the least known. From
may judge of the goodness of the system
ain pursues towards her Colonies, and who
are in the wrong in wishing to separate
s from her.

Government of the Spanish colonies is in every
te that of the mother country. Prefects are

council of the Indies, which is the supreme tribunal and governor of those countries, which it rules over from Madrid, upon a system which, for three centuries, has struck the Colonies with barrenness, and has reduced them to despair, and, finally, to insurrection, by taking the usual road, injustice, which leads to independence.

If Spain has carefully kept her Colonies from a good government, she was without the same thing herself, and she could not give them what she had not got. This country has almost always been that of despotism and of sleep, two things which, though they seem to exclude one another, nevertheless go very often together, as we see in Turkey. This kind of government either does nothing, hinders every thing from being done, or wishes every thing to be done by itself alone. The system is, to maintain whatever is existing, whether good or bad; they are firm, owing to their timidity: any change would require action, which their laziness rejects, and their despotism represses with the sword, the bow-string, or the dungeon. This slothfulness: both in the chiefs and in the people, causes every thing to flag, and unbends all the springs of a nation. This vice, which is felt throughout the whole of Spain, must much more affect the Colonies so far removed from the eye of the master, and abandoned to prefects who have an interest in deceiving him, and whom the mother country too often supports out of a feeling of false dignity. Since Spain, though lying directly under the eyes of a government present in its centre, and easily embracing the whole extent, has nevertheless always presented the most miserable spectacle, how could the Spanish government be vigilant, enlightened, and attentive, towards Colonies far

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and extensive, and which it was scarcely so with? Such an hope was beyond all probability. The Spaniards, individually possessing the many and estimable qualities, when taken in a mass form a nation indolent and without energy, although with much courage, and without any taste for improvements of life, though with the means of procuring them all, and of receiving them from their distant home, their fruitful soil, and from their industrious and rich Colonies; they live in the midst of many advantages without perceiving them, and they do their privations, in which they suffer more than in their opulence. The government has unhappily partaken of this general prostration. Instead of exciting the nation to resist it, it has been involved in it. The marks of their weakness are found every where; they are written upon the number of monuments for us to enumerate. Is not the condition of Spain itself a la-

romantic, arose in this country, and realised
of fable, and surpassed the actors in them.
Spaniards driven into the remote parts of the As-
surst forth to reconquer their country foot by
unite each part successively to the crown of
foreign, and, out of these dispersed members,
the Spanish monarchy. This great work took
years of the greatest and most painful labour;
they accomplished it, and the Spaniards,
from this trial like gold from the crucible,
the first nation in the world, and the pre-
t power in Europe: the greatest fears were
ed of their acquiring an universal dominion,
did not even take the trouble of concealing
signs. At this juncture a new career was
to them by the discovery of America; thither
; and America, by dividing their attention
forces, in all probability saved Europe from
universal invasion which would have been attempt-
America found the Spaniards the same as they
at home, as terrible to her children as they
to the Moors. The same courage was not
for the Indian had none of the intrepidity of
man: the country was more formidable than
adversaries; our astonishment at the achievements
Spaniards arises less from the victories than
their incursions, less from the men than from
the country itself. In fact, it required much more
to cross the Cordilleras by unknown paths,
penetrate into Peru over burning deserts and
peopled regions, than it did to subdue people who
were their conquerors, whom they regarded as
beasts, and who prostrated themselves before the
that was hurled against them, and fell under

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the coursers that rode over them. They were gratuitously ferocious in America, for no occasion for it; they had never been so

We do not know to what we ought to attribute the horrible excesses which they suddenly committed themselves to, as though by an instantaneous general inspiration, unless they are to be attributed to the pride of power, to the nature of the men and their leaders, and to that sort of fury which suddenly seizes upon, and transports a nation through a nightful crisis, which, by always leading in the end to shame and remorse, causes a nation forever to blush for itself.

The conquest of their own country from the Moors, and the conquest of America, are the two great epochs in the history of the Spanish nation; they seem only to have been deferred for this moment in order to be eclipsed, and they seem to have thought that they had then gained sufficient laurels to have a right to repose them-

ported with steadiness rather than with obstinacy, modified according to circumstances, qualified by a wise knowledge of the times, and pursued with vigour, either against the obstacles which nature threw in their way, or which were raised by competitors? But such a system is rooted too deeply, and too extensively, to be entirely the work of men; it can only be the work of established institutions: and as Spain has never had even one, it follows that she must have ruled her Colonies at random, against their nature, and against their interests, in a manner that has occasioned the total downfall of the building on which she relied for the preservation of the thing that she had taken so much trouble to destroy.

CHAP. XIV.

The Conduct of the Europeans in the Colonies.

BY exhibiting already some of the errors into which the Europeans have fallen, with respect to the Colonies, we have done nothing more than anticipate a part of that mournful task which remains for us to fulfil, in setting forth that kind of administration which they have introduced into them, and in which they still persevere, even in opposition to their own interests. They have met, from others, with a sufficient share of reproach for these crimes, of which the Colonies have been the theatre, and of which pictures, frightful enough, have been given; we shall confine ourselves to a representation of those errors which retarded, and

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still retard the progress of the Colonies, and this very day, have deprived the mother of the full amount of their produce, and of the advantages which they might have derived from it. We shall see whether affairs could have been otherwise, and whether it was possible, at the same time, to thwart, in a greater degree, the liberal spirit and of nature. The Europeans have acted against the elementary principles of the Colonies, such as against those of their management; and of these faults contains, in its kind, a great number of others, of a particular description, and of consequences resulting from them.

The Europeans have never given, nor thought of giving to their Colonies, any thing which could be called a name of organization. The word *organization*, at the same time, proportion, agreement, and harmony between the parts destined to form a whole, it is impossible to perceive any thing like

it neglected space of territory. From this blind eagerness to seize upon every thing, some nations found themselves surcharged with Colonies, for which they could not provide; while others found themselves deprived of those which would have just suited them. In the first case, they remained in a barren state; in the second, they were deficient in that fecundity which other hands offered. This prodigious inequality in the position of the advantages which the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and of America had bestowed upon Europe, placed her in a false position with respect to her Colonies; one nation possessed too much; another not sufficient; another nothing whatever. The wealthy was the object of the inquiring—perpetually stirring the ambition of the poor: injustice was practised by some, because they would not be entirely disinherited from the Colonies; wars and all the disorders which follow her train were the consequences.

Although it may be impossible to suppose, in opposition to usage unhappily too general, that nations are at once enlightened, and generous because enlightened, yet the supposition of a very extended degree of generosity may not be chimerical; and we may easily believe in that which interest dictates. There is nothing, for instance, ridiculous in supposing that the Spaniards, embarrassed with their too extensive possessions, tired with wandering through immense deserts, might have thought of concentrating in those parts which they found most convenient; and that they would have abandoned the excess to other nations, leaving to them the care of fertilizing and peopling them. Peter the Great had formed such a design for his vast territories, which most certainly had less need of

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merica; why was it not executed there when necessary. In this way have the Europeans violated the rule of doing nothing against them; they have been grievously punished for aggressions, as well those who have been guilty of them, as those who have not husbanded the resources as England was in possession of: such as placed themselves in a position of never being able to use the Colonies of use, either to themselves or to other countries.

Second fault of most parent states was their neglect of their marine, and their neglect in proportion to the wants and the growth of their Colonies. England excepted, have fallen into the same error. Thus Portugal has become weak in her marine in proportion as she has become rich in Colonies. The same is the case with Spain; instead of increasing her marine in proportion as her Colonies

onies, every thing which she may either fancy or have occasion for; she will sooner exhaust her own wishes than their services.

The third capital error to which the Europeans have abandoned themselves, in the organization of their Colonies, consists in their total inattention to the nature of the population: they have united, on this head, two things which seemed incompatible, namely, inactivity and carelessness. Thus, while they were running from all parts to make new discoveries, whilst they were searching every where for new territories, of which they might take possession, and which territories they were mutually tearing from each other, whilst they were killing each other for the possession, they never thought of the means of enjoying them, of which means the most essential, beyond all contradiction, consists in the materials of which the population is composed: for a Colony is sure to savour of the vices of the primitive inhabitants, as families do of those from whom they are descended. The Colonies have, however, in this respect, received from Europe none but the thoughtless and the outcast: they were generally regarded as the sink of the parent states, and consequently of Europe. In one country deportation to the Colonies became the ordinary punishment, or the only fund of population furnished by the parent state for the use of her Colonies; she sent them her criminals, discharged from jails, or such as escaped from the scaffold or eluded the vigilance of her laws. In another, fanaticism lying under some constraint in the mother country, or too straitly confined by the order of other sects of lunatics, flowed towards the Colonies in a stream impregnated with a great number of particles so entirely divested of all colonial qua-

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be of no use whatever, as Colonists. Of colonization, or what resemblance to Colonization, those austere Presbyterians exhibit, those Puritans, those maniacs of every kind which discharged on her Colonies, doubtless extremely happy in having got rid of the burden? Saint Domingo itself, that opulent Saint Domingo, since lorded it over Europe by the richness of its harvests, has it not been, during a hundred years, but a band of robbers, who, if they were equally as voracious as the voracity of birds of prey, were equally as successful? What would have become of it had it remained what it was, consigned over to freebooters and pirates, if the eye of a more vigilant administration had not at length been turned towards its hidden wealth, and if the civilization of its ancient inhabitants had not restored the introduction of new, had not restored the faculty of developing the germs of wealth with which its bosom was filled without

seem ridiculous at present. Colbert alone took up the subject like a true Frenchman, and endeavoured, by a speedy redemption, to wash away that stain from the nation. Some of them were ceded to the individuals as simple fiefs : a Colony was given as a favour or pension. An English and a French Monarch gave Saint-Lucie at the same time to their favourites. Marshal Meilleray sold Madagascar as a portion of his patrimony. Charles V, sold large provinces in America to merchants of Augsburg ; the United States, at present so flourishing, were partly consigned over to individuals, to enjoy them as personal property. In other places, whole Colonies have been purchased for money, and became patrimonial property under a kind of patriarchal government, the head of which was both proprietor and legislator as far as his property extended. Fair Pennsylvania, centre of American liberty, cradle of the liberty of the world ! thou hast no other origin !

Spain, drained of men, no longer sends any others to her Colonies than those who have escaped from prison, or from the scaffolds of the holy-office. To the Castilians belong the exclusive privilege of transporting themselves to America, that is to say, to the inhabitants of the most unpeopled part of Spain, and even to that part of all the Spanish population the least adapted to make it of any value ; for if the Castilian is the gravest of all the Spaniards, he is also the most indolent, and far inferior in point of labour to the other inhabitants of the Peninsula. Persecution gave the first cultivators to the Brazils, by the emigration of friars who were flying from persecution at Lisbon. After this, can we be astonished at the trifling progress which so many Colonies have made

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have been arrested in the principle of their development from the want of a suitable population? Is it caused to flow in their veins no other than the blood which she drew from her own. If it has a right to excite astonishment after this, it has a right to excite astonishment after this, not in their backward state but their progress.

What a difference between this population, vicious and unable to produce any other than feeble offspring, and the population which the robust sons of England have introduced into the United States, who have cleared a part of their territories, and which their cultivation alone suffices to mark out! What a difference between them and those English planters, who, confined in their native country, have transferred their capital and their industry to America—where they give to cultivation the advances which, in England, are not made, and the proceeds which centuple its profits with simplicity! What a difference between them and the famous Hollanders, who, in the sinks of Su-

support the inconveniences of transplantation, those foreign climates, of the exhalations of lands newly opened, perish on a soil which devours them, and which, intended to become fertile from their sweat, is only fattened with their carcasses, and covered with their bones. Such are the fruits of violating the elementary principles of Colonies, generally forgotten by Europeans. Let us see whether they have been more fortunate in the secondary principles, namely, those of administration.

The domestic government of Colonies is generally modelled upon that of the parent states, which to some has proved a benefit, as, for example, to those of England; to others quite the reverse, a very scourge. In order to afford room for assimilation, in this respect, it would be necessary that there should be a resemblance in others, the contrary of which was almost universally the case. And what community, in fact, existed between some of the parent states and the Colonies, with respect to localities, manners, climate, productions, and language? If the Colonies had any influence whatever on the form of government in the mother country, why should the latter desire to have any influence over that of the Colonies, from which it could, independent of that circumstance, derive considerable advantage? For why cut garments other than to their own shape than of the persons who were to wear them, and keep them always in a constrained position, and, as it were, prisoners in garments which did not fit their shape? For this is what the parent states of Europe have done in clothing the colonies situated beyond the seas, without any physical or moral uniformity, with the same forms of government which they themselves at the distance of a

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leagues had adopted for their own use, and cases, a thousand years before the Colonies were known. Such inadvertence, such reluctance to do what is convenient in a subject so very important, is a charge against the government of idle contempt for those possessions; for a just government would proceed in a different manner. For instances of colonies have been seen, and are still to be seen, of immense extent—of greater extent than many kingdoms of Europe, governed by one man alone. Brazil five times the extent of France, had no more than one governor; Mexico has no more than one governor, and that viceroy reckons in his government of New Spain, which, as the audience of Guatemala, is 1000 leagues in length; Peru is 600 leagues in length, Paraguay 600, the Philippines almost equal extent. Well! Spain expects to govern this vast extent of country by one man, a viceroy, or governor, all because this is her own establishment.

find ministers beyond all proportion unequal to the work which they have to perform, let the employment be ever so trifling in itself, and notwithstanding the facility which documents of every kind collected together a long time before must afford in the administration of such an office, and can men be considered as qualified for the administration of immense Colonies, who are transplanted into countries of which they know nothing, where every thing is to be done far from the aid of the parent state and the eye of the master. "*God's dwelling is very high, the King is far away, and I am master here.*" This expression, used by an agent of those distant authorities, is an abridgment of the history of all the governors placed at a distance from the observation of a master. The grievances which excited the complaints to which this pithy sentence was an answer, are repeated almost always in the same situations. Some governors are, doubtless, above such a reproach, but cannot accomplish a part of their task which evidently surpasses their strength. The good which they do not do, and the evil which they cannot prevent, all comes from the same source, namely, from want of a due proportion between the workman and the work he is to perform; and this double deficiency impeaches the institution of a vice which nullifies the talents and the virtues of better citizens. The number of this latter description is so very small! why then throw difficulties in the way of those whom we have the good fortune to meet, and blunt their zeal by repulsive institutions?

To that inconvenience must be added one much greater in itself; namely, that of the frequent change of governors, a frequency of change which is founded on the very nature of things, inasmuch as it is not

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to meet with more than a very limited number to whom transplantation to such distant regions is convenient, or who are able to support it. Now the necessity of change, with respect to men, necessarily produces that of measures. It destroys the continuity of ideas, of plans, and of enterprises—all of the greatest importance to be maintained in a long series: it leads the supreme authority into a course which must unavoidably fluctuate between the ever contradictory, of successive agents; for how can they succeed to the government of the Colonies as copyists of their predecessors, who stand in the same relation to their brothers of Europe. What a system of trials and experiments must be the consequence? How is it possible to erect any thing solid on a basis so weak, so perpetually shifting?

The address for which the Colonists are obliged to apply to the mother country, in all their affairs, is another great source of vexation. They are obliged to

as they were unprofitable. In France, before the Revolution, the inhabitants of the kingdom complained, and justly, of the too great distance of the springs of administration, or of justice, which obliged them to submit to a change of residence, for a long time; how much better founded were the complaints of those Colonists, who did not come, like the former, from a distance of forty or fifty, or more than a hundred leagues, but of more than a thousand leagues, across seas, and through every kind of danger. The mutual benefit of the mother country and of the Colonies demanded that the cases in which the Colonist should quit his fire side, to search in the mother country for that which he could not find at home, should be reduced to the lowest possible number.

On the other hand, governments had not taken any measures to establish and settle inhabitants in the Colonies: they were generally considered in the light of halting places, and where fortunes were to be made; as sponges, from which all the juices that could possibly be squeezed out were to be eagerly conveyed to the parent state: such instability gave room for a perpetual succession of adventures, and of men who speculated on the fortunes which might be made in the Colonies—all of them, men destitute of colonial qualities, and who frequently excited troubles in them, by introducing the vices of Europe.

Besides, a considerable degree of animosity subsisted between the inhabitant of the parent state and the Colonist. The former, looking upon himself as lord paramount, lets fall the whole weight of his disdain on the Colonist, which he considered himself, of right, entitled to do towards men whom he saw so much his inferiors. The Colonists were generally considered

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Europeans as working men, destined to labour to the advantage of the mother country, and nothing between the European and the Creole, a displacement, about equal to that which the latter, placed between himself and the other castes, found in his colony. The Colonists were deeply wounded by prolonged injustice, they felt their own injury, and supported with great impatience the contempt, from which their usefulness should have exempted them. In some countries, in all, the jealousy of him who came from the mother state removed all the inhabitants of the colony from the administration. All the inhabitants of the mother country were admitted into all the departments of government. The English Colonies, by their local government, modelled upon that of the mother country, were alone exempt from that curse. The colonies were attended with a thousand inconveniences: the Colonies in the most possible manner

, in the same degree, as he who has established his dence in it. It is necessary that a man should be d upon the soil, in order to be attached to it; a d of marriage should take place between them, ich serves as a guarantee of their mutual fidelity.

Europe has been very sensibly impressed with that e of estrangement in which she has held her Co- ies, and with that mistrust, of which that estrange- nt was the pledge. That insulting disposition ards her Colonies has excited many disquietudes ong them, in which the authority of the mother ntry has been sometimes compromised.

It seemed as if the Europeans were to behold, in Colonies which the bounty of Heaven had dis- ered to them, nothing but the produce to be ex- ted from them, and the additions of which that duce was capable; in a word, nothing but farms to laid out and improved. They were to investigate ry means of repairing the inconvenience under ich they lay, by their distance from the Colonies, to confine themselves to the encouragement of duction and consumption. Well! those fields, tined to cultivation alone, they converted into fields battle. What an absurdity! It seems as if two pro- tors of estates were to establish the theatre of their troversies in the midst of their corn fields. And at has been the consequence?

Hardly has war broken out in Europe, often before Colonist had time to be informed of it, before he ds himself already attacked, invaded, and, for the et part, infallibly ruined. He has no interest in quarrel, the burden of which he is to bear. He is entially a cultivator—behold him a party in poli- al controversies: he is a thousand leagues from

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behold him enveloped in the midst of her

Differently from an European proprietor, in a state of war, is not affected in point of

at in a very slight degree, the Colonist sees

es of his fortune immediately dried up, by

ruption of the only channel through which he

dispose of it; namely, the mother country.

calls to his assistance neutrals, and all the

which self-interest and fraud can have re-

against shackles which they find too heavy

he becomes immoral that he may not be

together. If the proprietor of lands in the

live in the mother country, the war strikes

the same severity; therefore, when war

is, there is nothing more common than to see

se properties are of that description, fall into

in which we have seen the French emigrants.

to the Colonists, in both Worlds, a time of

from them, on the simple calculation of interest. Maritime power, that powerful agent of colonial, is not even sufficient to defend the unfortunate Colonists; for, from the want of ability of appearing with honour in the ranks of the combatants, the weaker has recourse to privateering: he skims over the main which he cannot keep; he disguises that flag which he dares no longer employ, and by a thousand manœuvres makes amends for his inferiority: as a pirate, he does that injury which he can no longer do as a soldier. Thus when the military marine of Louis XIV had disappeared from the seas, the privateers of St. Maloes took no fewer than four thousand merchant vessels from the English; and, during the last war, which certainly was the check of the perigeon of the French marine, by what obstinate incursions did not the French privateering system molest the English commerce? Into how many habitations in the Colonies and families in England, has it not carried misery and mourning? Such are the consequences of that want of consideration, on the part of the Europeans, with respect to this very subject, so interesting to the Colonists. But where their evil genius breaks out every day, where he seems to triumph, is in those laws upon matters of detail, which they have scattered with such profusion, over those wretched dependencies of their blind power. One might say, that they had imposed on themselves the task of going contrary to nature, to stop the progress of the Colonies, and to deprive themselves of the advantages which they proposed to themselves, by acquiring the possession of them, in establishing and re-establishing them with such avidity. To be so ardent in desiring, and to neglect what one has acquired with such eagerness, appear to be irrecon-

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That, nevertheless, is what has been done, three centuries that the Colonies have existed, &c. Let us point out the most prominent of the picture: they do not belong to the exclusively. The inhabitants of the parent also be included, for Europe regulated those on her own model: they have not to reproach having turned the dark side of the column on them, whilst she held the bright side towards us. At that time Europe was no better governed than her Colonies, and her good luck and misfortune are equal.

Exceptions, which we do not often meet on the Continent, namely, the Spaniards and the English, furnish us with striking examples of the most ignorant ignorance of the simplest principles of economy, the first elements of commerce, of the action and direction of Colonies. Matters have proceeded so far that in searching for the cause in

strongly recommend to our veneration. But in the time of Henry VII of England, and of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, matters began to assume a different face. The civil state began to approach closer to the military, and to follow it, although at a distance, waiting for the time when it might confidently address it in these words: *Cedant arma togæ*. Men began to suspect that other business might be done besides fighting, and that the world is not an amphitheatre for gladiators. This epoch of regeneration, however, produced nothing more than some commercial regulations or laws, all of them stamped with evident marks of insanity; and what is most astonishing is, that the author of those laws was the most enlightened prince of his time. It is evident that he was commanded by the age, and that it was it which spoke through the medium of this prince, Henry VII.

It was then forbidden for any man to apprentice his children unless he possessed twenty-two pounds ten shillings a year, property in land. The price of eatables, of articles of the first necessity, and of workmen's wages, were equally regulated. Monkish notions, introduced even into commerce, represented interest, the soul of trade, as favourable to usury, and caused it to be proscribed.

All exportation of money was then prohibited. The foreign merchant was obliged to insert the price of those articles which he imported into England in English merchandise. As if such a law could emanate from any other tribunal than that of the balance of trade, and the definitive settlements which two commercial countries make at the end of each year. Agriculture, in like manner, was not better understood.

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with which England abounded, were forbidden to be exported. The rearing of that animal, whose valuable fleece is the support of the English trade, and consequently is a great part of her treasure, had of being encouraged in proportion to its value, as on the contrary loaded with shackles to crush it. The legislature had descended to the most trifling details, even to the numbering of the sheep, having ordered that the most numerous flock should not exceed two thousand. Men did not then consider the measure of liberty and will was nothing but a matter of power. What, therefore, was the state of the colonies? That power which now covers the seas with ships, which by their means embraces at once all the quarters of the world, reckoned no more than a few hundred and sailors, when now are reckoned more than a hundred thousand, of which one hundred thousand are constantly employed in her ships of war. At that time those merchant vessels were occasionally con-

Towns: Agriculture felt the influence of this bad arrangement to such a degree that England was obliged to have recourse to the Baltic, in order to make up for the habitual deficiency of her harvests. This very country is now that where the cultivator possesses the greatest share both of knowledge and riches; whose cultivation is favoured by the appropriation of the largest capitals, by the greatest number of experiments, and by the amplest rewards, and, above all, by the certain profits derived from that kind of labour. A farmer of respectability in England, derives as much as he pleases from the produce of his industry, and raises a great fortune with ease. But it was in their manufactures, in particular, that the English were so backward—the nation that has become, above all others, manufacturers for the whole world, and is continually creating embarrassments to other governments by obliging them to exert themselves against the effects of their industry. Though her lords were seated on wool-sacks, so great was her ignorance of England, and so wretched was her state, that she had not skill enough to manufacture any other than the coarsest kind of cloth, and that she was absolutely ignorant of the art of dyeing her cloth: she was in the habit of receiving from the hands of the Hollanders that process which every one is acquainted with at the present day, which England possessed in a high degree of solidity but in an inferior degree of lustre from that which other nations know how to give her. What a difference between the confined state of the manufacture as it stood then, and six hundred thousand packs of wool which are annually worked up in England, as it appears from the debates in Parliament upon the subject of the union with Ireland. The manufacturers were alarmed from the apprehension

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...ury which the manufacture might sustain
...in commercial clauses of the act of union; it
...ed on that occasion that the number of six
...housand sacks of wool, so far from exceeding
...nds of the manufactures, was not equal to
...ns, and it was said, that if the manufacture
...that point it would be rather from the want
...aterials than from the want of means of
...English commerce has always its eyes
...is part of the administration of public affairs
...national riches; on this head we never find
...s wander from the point, nor compromise
...Thus, while the entire nation was silent
...ir of the union, and looking with an eye of
...e on the discussions of the two Houses in
...tries, while purely of a legislative character,
...rom its slumber, it took fire, respecting one
...ely commercial which was the only one

work of self destruction, as far as regarded her interior, what was she about with respect to her Colonies? Let us take, for example, those of America. England, having been so fortunate as to establish them independent of Negroes and of Indians, and, consequently, having much less embarrassment than the nations which had to manage natives and slaves at the same time, had nothing to occupy her attention but the increase and improvement of her Colonies; thus circumstanced, she had it in her power to realise the first object which should be kept in view with respect to every Colony, namely to make it produce in order to enable it to consume. Is this what she has done? The following statement will answer that question.

Her Colonies were, at first, consigned over, for the most part, to exclusive Companies for commercial purposes, and to some favourite individuals in particular. The Companies went to receive; the private individuals surrendered or transferred their rights; every thing returned to the civil or colonial state. But the parent state with her laws of iron soon interfered. She was apprehensive that the Colonies might become great: their fertility gave offence: she, at first, began to express her doubts and suspicions as to their future loyalty: they must be kept in subjection by penury, and that state of subjection be confirmed by privations. The mother country becomes a step-mother, full of fears of her over-grown children, and engaged entirely in preventing the developement of their faculties. Therefore confining her Colonists to cultivation, she attaches them exclusively to the soil; she does not permit them to manufacture, except exclusively for themselves; she raises a barrier between each of the Colonies, she treats them as foreigners, forbids them to hold any correspondence with each

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the way of trade, and debars them from ex-
their productions. The work of the artisan
ed, not by its perfection, but by the time
has employed or lost in qualifying himself.
ts he must devote seven years to it. Neither
e, his industry, or the favour he may enjoy,
te the number of his apprentices. The law
ly confines them to two, whether he be an
s or ignorant tradesman, whether he be a
an old man; or whether, in places where
nt, and a vent for his wares is to be found,
es where he can find neither.

a, covered with forests, with a bosom that
ron, was the fittest country in the world to
e mother country with the produce of that
metal, which is indispensable for so many
She could have derived considerable benefit
overplus; Well! England granted America
e liberty of extracting it, and carrying it to

they, and was driven from the American ports in the very same manner: such was the state of things then. The parliament of England, metamorphosed into a chamber of commerce, had taken charge of the direction of it; and, as the proper spirit of executive government never belonged to a body of men, the intervention of parliament was only of use to smugglers and fraudulent dealers, more clear-sighted and more vigilant than any legislative body ever has been.

As long as the English Colonies of the Antilles were free, their trade belonged almost exclusively to the Dutch, then superior to the English, both in knowledge and commercial means. The Colonies were following the natural bent of things on that occasion, which carries them to the vent which is most open and advantageous. It was to be expected as a matter of course, that the supremacy of the present state would supply her deficiency in point of industry, and bring back the Colonies to herself: the first navigation act made its appearance, and England then took the place of Holland: the progress which she has made since that time exempts her from the fear of losing them once more. That act enabled England to furnish sugar for all the North; she would have furnished the entire South also, were it not for the absurd law which interdicted her traders from carrying them there before they had touched at England, a proceeding which, by doubling the expense of freight, doubled the price of the article, and operated in the favour of those who had good sense enough not to condemn themselves to make the same circuit. St. Domingo was not then in existence as a sugar Colony, and it is only since 1740, that her sugars have obtained a general preference, and replaced those of England.

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could have been the moving principle of in every thing that we have stated, and what subject?

the first, no man can allege even one which called reasonable; as to the second, it was contrary to the end she aimed at: for with a section, she could not conceal from herself a rigid constraint, at most only useful in the of her Colonies, could not be extended beyond, and, that by increasing in population and they were taking the very road to withdraw from it; that their inhabitants, with English their veins, would participate in all the qualities which distinguish it—in that spirit of observation meditates, views, and compares; in that of justice discerns and judges; in that of liberty, becomes irritated by a prolonged oppression. should have seen that it was very difficult to

ects; but, that is not all, she conceived the idea of excluding the greatest part, or rather almost the whole of her inhabitants from any communication with her Colonies. At first she opened no other vent than that of the port of Seville: when it was filled up, she substituted that of Cadiz; but, in both cases, she reserved no more than one point of communication with countries of immense extent, and closed up from them, as well as from herself, all those with which the shores of the Peninsula are so abundantly provided. This was clearly imposing a restraint upon their mutual relations, and rendering every article dearer to the closed ports, which they were obliged to draw from Cadiz, prevented as they were by the exclusive privilege from drawing them directly from America. Cadiz then united the exclusive commerce of Spain with America to that of America with Spain, and was at once the monopolist of the Colonies and of the mother country.

The foreign trader, established in Spain, fulfilling his duties to that country and performing his obligations as a citizen, by kindling the languor of commerce by his activity, had not the privilege of taking part in it. The number of ships, the time of their departure, their route, their nature—every thing was regulated by government. And those arrangements, become habitually the objects of intrigue and favour, were fabricated at court, and purchased in the public offices of government. A ship was obtained in the manner of promotion or a step, as an honorary distinction. The custom-houses completed this heavy load of bonds, by the complexity and heavy rate of the duties, with the augmentation of which they were long acquainted; as if by raising them above their

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they did not, from that very circumstance; of it; as if they did not immediately lose on hand, what they had the appearance of gain- other. It is not very long since it has been that two and two, in financial subjects, do make four; and the lateness of the period this grand discovery has been made is not an honourable trait in the character of modern states. Spain, though the balance of trade was against her, had forbidden the exportation of the metals, as if it were in her power to exempt herself from the payment of the balance of her trade; if foreign commerce were under an obligation to provide for her expenses, for the wants of her colonies, as if she had endeavoured to get rid of it. Her colonies must have been confined to one or other of these things; and the two first are so absurd, that we can only stop at the third, and which is rather the end, to which Spain has been

loss was not a reason sufficiently strong to prevent Spain from suffering it to continue sixty years. Spain as well as England had interdicted her Colonies from trading with each other : she kept them separate, as if they had been foreign and hostile provinces; she did not grant them the liberty of supplying themselves either as to the quantity or the places, in such manner as their wants and advantages demanded. Such a great Colony as the Havannah has passed whole years without receiving a ship from the parent state, or at most but one. All Chili was to provide herself from Peru, and was even prevented from importing more than one cargo.

Are not such regulations an insult on common sense, a judgment of very long duration against the Colonies? And if we ought to be astonished at any thing, is it not that they have not perished, that they have not fallen under a load, as heavy as it was ill calculated? And while Spain was so obstinately opposing the progress of the Colonies by positive laws full of absurdities, she also added every kind of neglect, which could not but deprive her of the rich produce which their own fertile bosom profusely presented. Thus, Spain is condemned to pay a tribute of from ten to twelve millions, in furnishing herself with spiceries which she can draw when she pleases from America, where they grow spontaneously in the valleys of the Cordilleras. Silk was also a production of those countries, and possessed all the qualities which fitted it for the most profitable purposes : it is entirely lost. How many other productions are neglected in a similar manner, lost, or arrested in their developement, and always from the same cause—the inattention of those who have that direction which corresponds, in every degree, with that of a proprietor and

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ers! Matters were carried to such lengths, that which is covered with vines, and whose inhabitants are the most sober of all Europe, did not export annually, before 1743, more than 1741 tons of brandy, to such an immense market as America. When, at the same time, her exports to the colonies, in European goods, amounted to 6,613

therefore, was the condition of Spain at that time. Could any one have possibly recognised under the exterior which covered her, in the misery in which she was steeped, the proprietor of an extent of ground on which the sun never sets? Who could ever discern in this beggarly Spain the owner of the mines of gold and silver? Spain remained unproductive with all her treasures, without action or without consideration in the midst of Europe, which was the advantage of her indolence in not attending to her improvement as she had that of the Indians.

such Colonies as St. Domingo and Philippines. It is only within a short time that she has derived any thing from Porto Rico. Havanna is supported by Mexico. Spain has twice driven the French population and the refugees of Acadia from Louisiana and Florida, as if she was afraid that these immense deserts would become over populous in too short a time. It is therefore probable that, if Spain has received immense sums in metals and in merchandise from America in the space of two hundred and twenty-four years, she might have received an infinitely greater sum, if one may judge from the difference in the produce during ten years of liberty, during which they have increased from the sum of 105,000,000 in the precious metals, to 170,000,000f.; and from 75,000,000 in other produce to 206,000,000f., in such case Spain would have preserved some of that immense amount instead of serving only as the medium through which it passes, performing the functions of a canal and no more, which is only charged with the distribution, but which is not to retain any thing itself. It is in fact, astonishing that Spain, which draws all her metals from a fund belonging to herself and receives them in Europe, does not possess a greater metallic sum than 1,000,000,000f., while France, which does not possess one mine, not one vein of gold or silver, can enumerate a currency of 2,000,400,000f. The difference of the two sums is explained by the difference of character in the two proprietors.

It appears also that the Europeans would have created very ample means for promoting their own good as well as that of the Colonies, by the formation of establishments truly colonial, of which no trace appears among any nation of Europe. Surely, if well

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d, it would be equally for the interest of the
tes as the Colonies to put the young men of
ies in a way of finding methods of instrus-
ted to the state of the Colonists. The parent
ld have an interest in taking them to her
he Colonists would have as strong an interest
ing those young plants and in initiating her
n the arts and sciences of the mother country:
ngement would be profitable to all parties.
subjects destined exclusively to carry relief to
ies for those maladies which are peculiar to
been never before thought of. The Colonies
our climates in no one particular : produc-
perature, habits ; every thing exercises an
over the body for which nothing that we see
e can prepare us. The ablest physician in
nows nothing of the nature of colonial dis-
n consequence of not meeting them in the
his study and of his practice. Why have

from them to merit some attention on her part ; of negligence, for the losses which the Colonies have experienced by those omissions which have fallen upon her, as is the case with every negligent proprietor who deprives himself of every thing which he withholds from his estate, which from want of care has few returns to make, and consequently he himself power to receive.

In the public attempts which the Europeans have made to naturalize some of the productions of their Colonies, they have neither used a greater degree of discernment nor of method. A transplantation of this kind requires that the nature of the soil, and the influence of climate which the transplanted subjects have left, should be consulted ; it requires that spots should be selected over the whole extent of the parent state, such as would have the greatest affinity with their own. Instead of this, and as if the capitals had, from no other title but because they were the capitals, the properties of all sorts and of all climates, it has always been in them, that productions extracted from soils and temperatures entirely different have been heaped together. What, in consequence, has become of those cargoes so pompously announced as about to enrich the Old World with the spoils of three kingdoms of the New ? What remains of them ! Nothing, or almost nothing ; and that which remains from the common destruction satisfies vain curiosity in pompous gardens and costly collections, filling with its outlandish nomenclature the voluminous lists, and such heads as are large enough to make room for the names of those useless strangers.

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CHAP. XV.

Relation of the present State of the Colonial Powers.

collect the heads of the long account which given into one small picture of the gallery, use the expression, which we have just sur-

al has no longer any Colonies; she has be- herself. The parent state is no longer in hereafter we must look for it in the Brazil. passed into America, and the Colony has re- Europe.

If the government of Portugal, when a parent state, took very little concern in the condition of the Brazils, a Colony; in turn, the government of the Brazils, become a parent state, will not give much more attention to Portugal fallen to the condition of a Colony. Transportation to a country entirely new in itself, as well as entirely new to it; in which every thing is to be done; where every thing is vast, rich; where nature is grand, fruitful, imposing; where the population already surpassed that of Portugal, and from its mixture demands particular care and attention; the government of the Brazils will not have much time to give to a distant country which will appear very inferior in every respect to that which it occupies. The great, the men who have occasion for courts will not they pass from Portugal to Brazil? Will Portugal, when reduced to a Colony, having to receive her laws from a distance, impoverished by the withdrawing of the contributions from Brazil, by the suppression of the expenses of the court and of the great, familiarize herself to a change in which she will find herself so grievously wounded? Will she be content always to remain in a dependent colonial state, to support whatever is most humiliating and burthensome in all the parts of administration? Will not the two fractions of the same government get tired of such distant relations, so slow, so incommodious? And will not Brazil be as unfit to manage the affairs of Portugal as Portugal was to manage those of Brazil? But, furthermore, will Europe always look upon Portugal, a Colony of Brazil, with the same eye with which she looked upon the kingdom of Portugal, the parent state of the Brazils, a European co-estate of all the members of the sovereign association of Europe? Will not the sovereign of the Brazils neces-

sarily exchange his European affections and feelings for American feelings and affections? He cannot fail to become entirely American, and anti-European as soon as he has become extra-European. Placed at the centre of the grand movement which puts that vast continent in motion, he will very soon be more taken up with the doors than with what is passing through them. This change, this transition of Portugal to America, from a colonial state of Portugal; to a Colony has left her in many respects different from what she was. It is on account of Brazil that the Portuguese insisted on preserving the slave trade: one can easily perceive the interest which Brazil has in it; but we cannot perceive any on the part of Portugal; for Portugal has Colonies no longer, and, in such a state, the trade no more concerns her than it concerns Austria or Prussia. The new distance of Portugal classes her among the extra-colonial states.

Holland, wise and moderate in her colonial ambition, as she is in all her inclinations, enjoyed, with the assistance of France and of England, a sort of conventional power. The fact is, it was the impossibility of leaving her Colonies to the discretion of one or other which secured her in the possession. By the new order which has created the kingdom of the Low Countries, that state, by taking the place of Holland, has gained in the point of means for preserving her Colonies in the East Indies; but she has lost her most important possessions, and with them the out-works which covered and defended them. The Cape of Good Hope belongs to her no longer, it has passed into the

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to be defended. France and the Low Countries should follow the same line of conduct with their Colonies as well in peace as in war. The policy of the Low Countries is therefore not colonial power: her Colonies should be only as factories or country houses for the purposes of commerce and exchange. This is so more unfortunate, as the Hollanders, who are the only colonial people of the kingdom of the Low Countries, are most eminently colonial-people in whom all the qualities calculated to make colonies flourish most appear. Economy, perseverance, frugality, and industry, moderation in their desires, and unalterable; these elementary qualities of all nations, but particularly of the colonial, are found in the highest degree among the Dutch: let any man behold what such admirable qualities have accomplished in the works which they executed at Surinam, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

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: nothing can be compared with her: she
er peer in all the world; and between her
that which is next in succession, there is not
al alone—there are a thousand.

has lost the Isle of France and St. Domingo:
of the one blots her out of India; the loss of
annihilates her in the Antilles. Martinique
St. Lucia is good for nothing: Bourbon is
more than an isolated farm in the midst of
Isle of France was its protection. If that
s of little account in a commercial view, it
important in a political one, and in contem-
a war. Its position made it the outworks
rench establishments in India, the resting-
their ships, the arsenal of their squadrons, and
m-post against the English establishments.
ties began to be known in 1735, and the
Bourdonnaye was charged with commencing
on it agreeable to that view. That extra-

bitants have been seen, notwithstanding their distress, harassing the English commerce, insulting the coasts of Asia, and, joining military courage with civil energy, resisting at once the enemies of their internal tranquillity, as well as the enemies of their independence—the English, on the one side; and, on the other, the Commissioners of the French Assemblies. For it is but justice to say, that the Isle of France and of Bourbon had no less right to complain of France than of England, and their zeal was so much the more meritorious, as their motives for showing any were very few, and as they might have derived great advantages from the embarrassments of the mother country, by withdrawing themselves from her yoke, and living in a state of independence, which would have turned entirely to their interest, and also to that of France; for the Isle of France, independent, would be much better than the Isle of France in the hands of England. Now that France has lost it, she has no means whatever of setting a foot in India, nor even of supporting the trifling establishments which have been restored to her by the peace. What, in fact, are a few insulated points, at the distance of four thousand leagues from her, and, as it were, lost in the immensity of the English possessions? It is almost the same as if France held three or four villages in England. Would they be worth the expense? Would they add to her real power; and if they would cost much money, as the French establishments in India do, would not the money of France be employed in the very worst way possible? For states should calculate how they lay out their money, as well as individuals. While France had any share of power in India, or any prospect of recovering her power, the probability of success might

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...e justified the expenditure of the money
...would employ on her Colonies in the East;
...she has lost the Isle of France, and that all
...ongs to England, her calculations should
...change which the objects have undergone
...they were formerly applied. France ought
...onger to maintain a single soldier in India,
...d upon it a single crown piece.

...ench Colonies of the Antilles have assumed
...e by the revolution at St. Domingo, and the
...Martinique to England: the latter nullifies
...ary establishment of Martinique. Besides
...ut any object, since St. Domingo no longer
...ith France; for it was not formed for Mar-
...t would not have been worth the trouble,
...not have paid the expense; but Martinique
...ar port, and the arsenal of the rich St. Do-
...Martinique and Guadaloupe are, therefore,
...any thing but two farms, productive, it is

give an opening to the greatest revolution that the world has ever yet witnessed. If no fortune has ever been more colossal, never will any fall be more heavy; if none has ever possessed more, none will ever have lost more, and that by a succession of faults, the extent and obstinacy of which neither admit commiseration nor excuse. We assert, that Spain will lose her Colonies with a different effect from that of England, which was enriched by the loss of the United States; because Spain will not retrieve by her commerce that which she will have lost by her sovereignty, in the same manner as England, which receives from her commercial relations with the United States more than she received by her sovereignty, and without finding herself under the necessity of paying the expense of their establishments and guard. That is what marks the difference between an industrious and an idle people, enemies to labour. When a loss takes place the latter find themselves without the means of making a reparation, while people of industrious habits have provided all the means of repairing all the losses which they may happen to experience.

To conclude, of the five colonial powers, (for we do not reckon Denmark and Sweden), one alone is firm; all the remainder shake, and hold by nothing. What a spectacle! How deserving attention! Especially when one comes to think that this immense change is the work of the last twenty years, during which time the germs which concealed the colonial institutions of all the nations have been fully developed, have acted with all their force, and have ended with introducing an order of things which we shall have to examine. The nations which have regulated their conduct agreeably to the principles of the colonial order, have pre-

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their Colonies; they who have departed from principles, have lost theirs. Effects have corresponded exactly to their causes; and, as is just, they have ended by reaping as they have sowed.

CHAP. XVI.

Consequences of this State: its Dangers.

It is from the demonstration which we have established, that Colonies and a marine exist under one power alone, which is England. We must take our departure from this point, as from the point upon which the whole question turns, and to the interests of the commercial and colonial

the North of Europe, cutting the communication between these two grand divisions of that region of the earth, waiting in tranquillity for the rash adventurers, who, in attempting to brave her shores, would only offer themselves up as victims to her vengeance. It is this singular position of England, eccentric with respect to Europe, in an intermediate position between its parts, which are obliged to pass under her pointed cannon, from Plymouth to the Downs, which makes the maritime power of England the tyrant of the seas of Europe.

In Gibraltar, England carries the keys of the Mediterranean; in Malta she occupies the centre of it; in Corfu, she has one eye on the Adriatic, and the other on Greece; at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Isle of France, she commands the road to India; in Malabar, in Ceylon, and the Coromandel Coast, she, in a manner, clasps opulent India in her arms, from the Indus to the Source of the Ganges; at St. Helena, she is placed between the seas of Africa and America; by means of New Holland, she will become in time mistress of the South Sea; in Trinidad, she has one foot on the Spanish Continent; at St. Lucia, she nullifies and curbs Martinique; by means of Antigua and Barbados, she watches the Havannah and Porto Rico; in fine, by the occupation of Canada and Newfoundland, she closes that immense chain of posts, which she has drawn round the globe, to subject it to her dominion and her commerce, two things which she never separates, and for which she has formed arsenals and warehouses every where—the double base of her power. Behold the state into which a profoundly combined system, followed without deviation, favoured by the immense faults which France has been committing

for one hundred years back, and the habitual torpor of Spain, have brought the world—a state which, from its singularity, presents nothing similar, either in ancient or modern history—a state, calculated upon the defensive systems which some of the powers of Europe had adopted for their frontiers, and which gives England a double line of maritime posts, behind which she can equally defend herself, and pounce upon her enemy, who is not able to return her attacks. The traces of this plan are too plainly marked in the care which England has taken to place herself right opposite all the fortified points, which belong to other powers, so as that none can mistake her views. In this manner has she established herself at St. Lucia, at the Isle of France, and at Ceylon, for the purpose of nullifying every thing which might be opposed to her.

This advantage, in point of situation, fortified by an immense superiority in her marine, her capital, and colonial possessions, gives an idea rather than the just measure of the colossal proportions which England has acquired—proportions, which in colonial rank reduce every thing about her to the state of dwarfs or pygmies, and which is the reason that there is no such thing as existing colonially, but under her guardianship, or as she pleases.

Europe must be told (and we should not be under any apprehension of exciting, for her good, some salutary terrors in the midst of her) that she is under the yoke of England; and it is not Europe alone that is under her yoke. During five-and-twenty years the nations exerted themselves very much against the supremacy of France, against the yoke imposed by Napoleon: it was the fashion of the day. That yoke

was hard, we must acknowledge, and still more mortifying than hard; but that of England, clothed in appearances less repulsive we must confess, is it less real, or less hard? is it more easy to be shaken off, does it bear upon fewer interests? Assuredly not. A coalition against Napoleon was possible, and he could be brought down; but how is a coalition to be formed against England, and how are we to lay hold of her? He who has taken Dantzic, will he take Gibraltar? He who has made all the French fortresses, from the Cattaro even to Hamburgh, to fall as if at the touch of a magic wand; will he, in like manner, cause all the fortified and insulated stations of England to disappear, protected as they are by her squadrons, present everywhere? for we must not deceive ourselves in the present day; the power of flags exceeds that of battalions, and the birth-day of the Admiral who is to ascend to London Bridge will not follow the death of the General who mined the bridge of Jena, till after a long revolution of years, probably of ages.

France possessed a treasure in Saint Domingo, which gave her the balance of trade, and with it that of riches, and by that, that of power; for this is the scale upon which the degrees of modern power must be reckoned. Among the Tartars it consists in horsemen and horses; among civilized Europeans it is found in labour and in riches. Saint Domingo was to other Colonies as the diamond is to the other products of the bowels of the earth; but France has lost that jewel, and with it her commerce, with her commerce her preponderance; she has ceded the Isle of France, consequently she no longer has any thing to do in India, for she can no longer find the way to it. She has given up Saint Lucia, and with it the key of

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ne; but, still worse, not only is Saint Domingo no longer profitable, it is even hostile. There the population holds sway, all whose attentions are directed to remove the ancient possessors, and who are prepared to answer, to every attack by devastating flames, *Saint Domingo for the Blacks, or*

er, a nation such as that of France, whose interests are necessary to all Europe, and which will every day become more so, in the new state of Europe, after she has been in possession of rich Colonies, and having been supported by their helps, will she be reduced to the humiliating spectacle of that happiness which their independence will produce to England? And will not she be affected in the most sensible manner every day by the sentiments and the effects of that independence to which a complete disinheritance from the Colonies will condemn her?

Spain, on her side, is falling from the summit of colonial opulence to the most profound abyss—to the most absolute nudity. Yesterday, every thing in Spain was gold, by means of her Colonies; to-day, every thing is rags, by reason of their loss. A mother rejected by her robust and full grown children, accusing her decrepitude, her remoteness, her weakness, her incapacity to provide for them, to govern, to defend them, exhausts herself to bring back her emancipated family; and in this unequal, blind, protracted contest, exterminating at the same time her American children by the hands of those of Europe, and those of Europe by the hands of her American, in the same act joins suicide with parricide, her depopulation, and her ruin. But besides, what a loss! Mexico and Peru, America of the south, America of the north; expulsion from the straits of Magellan, as far as California! What a disgrace! The flag of Castile is chased over every sea by flags which the ocean has not as yet known, which the acknowledgment of no nation has as yet legitimized. The ships of America, with extraordinary presumption, shaping their course towards the shores of Europe, have the boldness to brave Spain on her very coast; Buenos Ayres blockaded, Cadiz, the Carthage of America, affrights the Carthage of Spain, and her interdicted commerce is self banished from seas infested by swarms of enemies vomited forth against her by the very ports into which she carried life, and from which she carried back riches. In future these ports, so long fraternal, will be no longer open to Spain but under the conditions which reciprocity of interests confer; all superiority between them having come to an end.

Portugal has done still more, for so far from continuing to have Colonies, she has become one herself.

Holland, raised in Europe to a degree of power and of titles superior to those which had formerly belonged to her, has lost in her Asiatic Colonies the only ones which were worth mentioning—the possessions which might have served for their defence, and to give and to add to her own consideration. In future she will have no other safeguard but by observing a passive obedience to England—the very shadow of opposition would destroy her.

We see, from the whole of the changes which have taken place in the Colonies, that the state of Europe, which is intimately connected with it, is not less affected by it than the colonial state itself. The consequences of such an order—an order in which one acts the part of tyrant, and all the others that of slaves; a source of riches to the former, and of ruin to the latter; are too closely connected with the general interests of Europe not to excite that sensibility of pain and affliction which every constrained state produces as well among nations as individuals, and which impels the one as well as the other to get rid of it with that energy which the feeling of oppression always inspires. In reality, how can an order of things be borne which adjudges to one people alone all the hostile, isolated, and impregnable points of the whole world. Do not common sense and the common safety dictate that points of that nature ought not to belong to one alone against all; that is, from the very circumstance of these posts being so very strong that they should not be the appanage of one who is already strong, and too strong without general servitude being the result;

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and itself caught in a net, concealed under the pretence of succours, offered by the ingenious artificers which have woven the thread of it, the keeping of which has been consigned to the real Neptune—the British Neptune. Such is the state in which we find ourselves—a state which cannot fail to produce evils, and which cannot be ameliorated, but by a combination of measures, such as will give a new and a better colonial order; for the ancient no longer could have no connection with that which

CHAP. XVII.

Changing of Mother Countries into Colonies,

given to the sovereigns of Europe, of leaving it for America: and of passing from the parent state to the Colony, inverting their mutual relations. All the great changes or transfers of empire have changed its face. Constantine destroyed Rome by transferring the seat of the Roman empire to Byzantium. He commenced the Lower Empire—pale twilight of that of Rome! Rome remained alone with her Tiber and ancient divinities; her power and her altars crumbled away together, and her Jupiter could no more defend the Capitol, than the Temple of Victory; the Roman eagle refused to pass over to the Hellespont: the Greek, now become sophist and bigot, replaced the conquerors of Marathon and the soldiers of Macedon; cloisters, the Portico, and the Lyceum: the empire, delivered over to disputes, as unimportant as unintelligible, fell on every side; and cenobites, very pious but very idle, disputing about the light of Tabor, soon introduced Mahomet into Sancta Sophia.

The going over of the King of Portugal to Brazil is an event of the same nature, calculated to exercise the greatest influence on the destinies of the world. The ship which carried him to the Brazils, had obtained, among the ancient Greeks, more honour than that which carried Jason and his Argonauts. That Prince has given the first example of the changing of a Colony to a mother country—the residence of an European sovereign.*

* “During my stay at St. Paul’s, we learned the Prince Regent had quitted Lisbon, and embarked for the Brazils. This news was received with much satisfaction by the Brazilians, because they considered that their country would henceforward be inhabited by a sovereign who would pay all his attention to it, and render it more flourishing. The bishop of St. Paul ordered public prayers, to ask

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us examine what the consequences of this hypothesis will be, whether affecting the two countries of Europe. This change is, in the nature of it, applied to every Colony, greater, richer, and more populous than the mother country. It may be effected about in two ways: by force or choice. Thus in all the cases specified above, the passage of the Colonies was forced: while it was free and voluntary in Pombal's plan. We find that a Colony which surpasses the mother country in riches, in population, and extent, possesses, in itself, a powerful attraction for the sovereign who resides in the mother country, where objects meet his eye, which only strike him elsewhere. The irresistible inclination of men to their own welfare urges him continually to seek and to find it wherever it can be discovered. In this case, the sovereign, residing in the mother country, will be strongly affected towards the Colony: for ex-

On another side, policy and necessity finish the work begun by personal satisfaction. A sovereign, attentive to every branch of his government, watching his march the progress of the parties who attach themselves to him, capable of looking forward and marking the superiority that the Colonies cannot fail to acquire over the mother country, will necessarily conclude by giving them the preference, and cannot avoid being, in some measure, taken by surprise.

The consideration of their superiority will operate as a law upon him, in causing him to be where his greatest interests are to be found. These, in public as well as private affairs, can never pass the eye of the master. Colonies, such as Mexico and the Brazils, must cease, then, by drawing to them the sovereigns of Europe—invariably so: the states in this latter country having all, more or less, arrived at a point of perfection, are not susceptible of those improvements which there is such scope, in a soil as it were yet new. For instance, what progress could Portugal make in population, culture, or riches, compared with those which are manifested year by year, on the pure and unbroken ground of the Brazil? How would Spain come to prosperity, the elements of which so energetically develop themselves at Mexico and South America? The Colony, leaving its established order, will one day, then, become superior to the metropolis; and this day will bring the European sovereign very near to ruin. This necessity will be augmented still more, if the Colonies are strongly affected by a mixture of blood, a complication of which is always troublesome; and even dangerous to the existence of the planters well as the Colonies. The sovereigns, consequently will feel an obligation to watch *themselves* these p

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discord. The emigration of European states great Colonies is then possible; that of others Colonies may also be brought about by others. The Dutch emigrated when pressed by V, and many other princes would have followed the example of the sovereign of Portugal, when he, like him, with the rod of Napoleon, if they Colonies.

In this case, what would become of the habitual state of Europe, if Charles IV, (arrested by Napoleon in the rout he had already taken towards Spain) was joined to the Prince of Brazil? Spanish Colonies would lose their direct relations with Europe with these states. Henceforth they would be in America; consequently the affairs of Europe would be a part of its members, must no longer be decided in Europe, but in America. We leave to others to think what the consequences of this change would be. What a difference for Europe altogether.

of a multitude of coverings, from which it extricates itself in proportion as its growing strength permits it to be exposed to the effects of the air, and to sustain the shock of the surrounding bodies. From the lion's whelp to the noble son of the eagle, all are either nourished by the breast or sheltered under the wing of the mother, until the different means of defence, disposed by nature in the contexture of their organs, are sufficiently strengthened to render them in want of assistance no longer. Man is subject to the same laws of dependance—he participates in the same taste for freedom. When an infant, he clings to his parents for support, whose labour supplies his helplessness, and from whom he receives strength to his weakness, light and experience to his ignorance, and protection from objects which, at his tender age, might endanger his existence; but with age his body extends, his limbs become hardened, his eyes clear: he sees, hears, retains, and compares. Then the infant gives place to the man: he is mature when the fires which lighted the flame that gave him birth circulate in his blood; he hears the voice of nature which calls him to continue the chain of beings she has formed, in the prospect of an uninterrupted succession among all that exist. Then man becomes the chief of a family, which, at the same epoch, will spring from him; and, like the bird which, when properly fledged, leaves the nest that has nourished its infancy, departs from the paternal roof which has fostered him.

But what relates to men, may be equally applied to the Colonies and mother country. Nature has subjected them to the same laws, and consequently to the effects of these laws; for she has not, as men too often

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itude of coverings, from which it extricates proportion as its growing strength permits it exposed to the effects of the air, and to sustain of the surrounding bodies. From the lion's the noble son of the eagle, all are either nourished at the breast or sheltered under the wing of the parent until the different means of defence, disposed in the contexture of their organs, are sufficiently strengthened to render them in want of assistance no longer. Man is subject to the same laws of nature—he participates in the same taste for freedom. When an infant, he clings to his parents for support, whose labour supplies his helplessness, and from whom he receives strength to his weakness, experience to his ignorance, and protection from dangers which, at his tender age, might endanger his existence; but with age his body extends, his senses become hardened, his eyes clear: he sees, he feels, he thinks, he compares. Then the infant gives

may congratulate herself upon; but it is not the continuance of ancient affinity that could unite her to the Colony. It is that sort of independence that has taken place at Mexico and the United States; it is that which could not fail to occur in the Brazils. This result is such, which, in the nature of things, cannot but happen to the Colonies, any more than an acorn can fail, in time, to become an oak.

The defect of population, then, constitutes the first degree of dependence of the Colonies on the mother country.

The second, is, their weakness. By this word, we are to understand the want of knowledge and of every means of resistance.

When we are ignorant—when we have neither reflected nor compared—when we are slaves to prejudices and habits; and have made no deviation from the established order of things—however vicious our governors may be, we are more contented with the yoke than, when new light having cleared the mind, and fortified and refined it, there is open to us a new universe, in which we in our turn read, and are directed by our own judgment.

This is the case with man when a child; he believes all his father says to him; by degrees, he begins to see, compare, and judge for himself; his mind is freed from the dependence that the ignorance of youth had created; in time he goes into the world and conducts himself alone. Colonies do the same. When in a state of infancy, they belong altogether to the mother country; older, that is to say, stronger, they look around them: they seek what best suits their own interest.

The United States did not begin with Adams,

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Franklin, and Washington; they are the creation of time, the produce of their own growth; *they are the United States arrived at Manhood.* It is so, and it will be the same with all Colonies. They begin with dependence, the fruit of their infancy: they continue during youth, which is the time for developing their faculties; they end with manhood, which is their independence. Whilst they are ignorant, they are led; as soon as they get knowledge they run alone, and at their own discretion.

The third principle of the dependence of the Colonies; and their attachment to the mother country, is the difference of population and the distinction of colours.

The Europeans, in establishing themselves in every quarter of the globe, find the indigenous population spread over the surface of these countries in proportion more or less strong. Sometimes they have added to the local population an importation of inhabitants of strange countries, such as negroes. The mixture of planters with natives, as well as those imported, has formed a mongrel race. Here, European blood thrives as in every part of America; in other places it fails, as in Bengal. There the population of Europe reigns: further off they are nothing, like St. Domingo and India. In some places European blood is predominant, as in the United States; in others it is mixed in equal parts, as in the Brazils; more remote, the population is formed of another blood, namely, of those who have not peopled the Colony, but have conquered it, like Canada and the Cape of Good Hope, whose population is French or Dutch, and mother country England. What will the Colonies do in such various situations? They will conduct themselves in proportion as their

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require the assistance of the mother country, which they will remain attached, by reason of the want of defence; and, as self-preservation is the motive, and the mother country showing this protection, they will cling to it as to existence itself.

When the Spaniards were settled on the vast continent of America, and found themselves opposed to the numerous inhabitants, they saw the necessity of attaching themselves to the mother country, for assistance, and the fear she inspired, maintained them in the conquest, and secured them against the possibility of rebellion. In proportion as they multiplied and ruled over the indigenous population, they had less need of the mother country; consequently they proceeded to the consideration of their own interests, and fell at length into independence.

The Brazils arrived at it in the same way. The Portuguese, small in number at first, as is always the

himself obliged to be attached to the mother country which is his safeguard.

In proportion as he multiplies, so as to rival the indigenous inhabitants, his attachment to the mother country is slackened, and as soon as he rules over the natives in number, his bonds are on the point of being broken. If an equality proportionate with the mother country happens to be joined to that he already possesses with the natives, then nothing is wanting to the means of independence; then the Colony is ripe for liberty; its bonds with the mother country have changed their nature; those of duty and affection remain, those of necessity have disappeared. The decrease of indigenous population has singularly facilitated the separation of America. She was not charged with this inconvenient watching, consequently she had no need of the mother country: every thing was equal between the Colony and mother country. The separation was like a family-parting, or, at most, a purely domestic quarrel, without any strange mixture—it was pure Englishmen who asked other Englishmen to authorise their remaining separate from them, and who made their strength the motive of their demand as the means of not feeling the effects of a refusal.

The Colonies of the Antilles are in a very different position; one part is infinitely small, whose metropolis would chastise at leisure the most insignificant signs of disobedience; some are only military posts and arsenals, whose metropolis always holds the key. The great commercial isles, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica, St. Domingo, far from being enabled to detach themselves from the mother country, have, on the contrary, continual need of her assistance, in consequence of the mixture of blood which populates

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them. For example, Saint Domingo reckons 25,000 whites, with 500,000 blacks, and 20,000 men of colour ; how could this small quantity of whites presume to separate from the mother country which affords them protection, and which, by the help of its authority, which is always present in the midst of the Colony, compensates for the inequality of the populations. Thus was the favour granted by the mother country to the whites (a preference against which so much had been said) less a denial of justice towards the black, and a connivance with the white, a well-founded calculation, and a policy well understood, to help the weak against the strong, to place in one scale what is wanting in the other, and thus to oppose the rupture, constantly threatened, of the equilibrium.

These are the effects of the different degrees of population ; they will inevitably finish by deciding their fate.

There is another species of Colony, which, without experiencing the effects of a mixture of blood, is subject to the difference of its own from that of the mother country ; of this description are the conquered Colonies of Canada, the Isle of France, Cape of Good Hope—the population is French or Dutch, and the yoke English. The heart, then, is averse to the Government ; when, therefore, as in time must be the case, the arm will assist this innate disposition, where will the power of the metropolis be then ? These sorts of Colonies have more incentives than others for aspiring at independence ; for they wish for it, first, as Colonies ; secondly, as the subjects of a foreigner. In such a case what can the mother country do ? Keep them in subjection—but how ? if the Colony be small, for example the Isle of France, then it is possible : if it be large, like

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at any time it will be impossible; for to hold it must be begun again like that with America, with the same probability of success. Would twenty thousand English troops compel three millions of Canadians to submit to them? It is the same with the Cape of Good Hope. When this colony is peopled, by reason of the means of commerce that it offers to a great population, will it be the same thing? Will not the same motions produce the same force, and will they not produce the same effects? and how will they stop them, otherwise it will be as unfortunate as that with America, and all those that Spain has made with her Colonies. Would not the result be always and every where the same, because the principle never ceases to be the same, always and every where? Dependence and independence are questions which belong not to nature, but to nature, who has made Colonies dependent as they are weak, as she has made men

the mother country, to let them find in their accession of fortune a deduction for the expence of their education and keep. For, by another law of the same nature, ever wise and beneficent, the prosperity of the Colony will never be separated from that of the mother country, and the emancipated Colony will begin, so to speak, to reciprocate benefits with her when she shall cease to trade with her in cares and teachings.

To these general considerations must be added, first, the care necessary from the mother country for the Colonies, by which they conduct them to independence undoubtedly. Secondly, The circumstances proper to accelerate the developement of the Colonies, and their innate tendency towards independence.

The examination of the principles which attach Colonies to mother countries, or which detach them from them, presents a striking observation, namely, the small number of children which form the first bond, and the multitude of causes which contribute to break them. We can scarcely come at the number of the latter, while we find the limits of the former in a moment.—Necessity and weakness are its principle and boundary. So in humanity, not only the bonds of affection and respect, but necessity, cease with infancy: in the same manner, in Colonies, the ties which proceed from what we have said constitutes their infancy, are broken as soon as they cease; on one side then there is but a single cause, on the other there may be a million, as we are going to see.

First.—Mother countries can never bear to see in their Colonies any other than their own children, as parents have the same predilection to their families; every other consideration wounds their self-love, or their habits, and whatever difference, whatever change

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development brought about by time and circumstances produced in them, both refuse to acknowledge but their own subjects and children; we always treat them as such; and yet by a contradiction, the same objects of dependence we esteem and value. Thus mother countries and colonies are always careful of all the means of educating their children and their Colonies; they endeavour to provide them with every faculty necessary for making them advantageous establishments; and when this is done, they endeavour to restrain the use of their power and to circumscribe them in the circle of this policy, where they always like to bring their too great energy to the taste of their own inclinations. This contradicts the prospect and the walk of nations to contradict oneself, thus to wish for the colonies then to run back from the aspect of the colonies, which, however, does not hinder it from being of general use.

ing after their accomplishment, and ceasing every opportunity of realising them? Example then is still acting always with strength, which is its appendage at all times, and in all places. Has not Europe herself carried for a long time the double yoke of slavery and feudalism? What was their assistance if this state were not general—as soon as there was an example of their being effaced they disappeared. The commonalty of France freed themselves, those of England and Germany followed them closely; liberty gets nearer, and some day every body will be free because one man had been so, and set the example of becoming so. There are things to the imitation of which we cannot be indifferent; besides, whatever is a yoke must have an end, because it is the nature of all yokes to be broken, and the nature of man always to be free.

We have mentioned in several places the exclusion of commerce in most of the Colonies. Behold then, the three bases of colonial order undermined, in the sight and understanding of all the Colonies. This sight must change all their ideas, and cause their respect and consideration for the ancient order to give place to the desire of a new one made suitable to their circumstances. The latter are of a nature to accelerate the bursting forth of that spirit of independence which every Colony possesses. By what has passed for a long time in the Colonies, we are going to be shown that picture of circumstances which may truly be called premature.

Colonies are not always able to supply themselves; and mother countries, on their side, are not always sufficient for Colonies, whether as suppliers or consumers. There may be at once both penury and superabundance. In these two cases it is necessary to

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their side all tend to one uniform result, the independence of the Colonies.

There are more, and it will be well to pay attention to what follows.

Dependence and independence of the Colonies, as we have just proved, the crisis for passage from one to the other may be accelerated by circumstances, which can neither be predicted nor foreseen, and which are all affected by the following:

The dependence of the Colonies, which has been general, with regard to the mother countries.

Slavery, which has also been the general condition of one part of the colonial population.

Exclusion, which has been likewise the condition of the commercial relations of the Colonies.

These three pivots of the colonial order have been broken, and their destruction is changing

then they ascend again to the principles of the institution; they seek again particular and personal advantages; they reason, and every people are nigh being independent as soon as they begin to reason; in this way America was affranchised.—Men that with profound meditations had penetrated the advantages as well as facilities of independence, who had measured their position well with that of England, made that liberty burst forth which had already existed in the germ, in the midst of the American people, without their suspecting it; this is the example which failed in every other Colony till then; they now behold it.—America is there with her prosperity; the fruit of an independence which so happily separates her from the quarrels of Europe, which assures her of the proper direction of her conduct, and the reward of her labours. Example is there—example, which does every thing in yielding to genius and instruction—example, which has strength to prevent, and even to choke remorse.

Example then learnt the Colonies that they may be independent; the United States are, and will be to the last moment, a living model by which every Colony will endeavour to form itself; the consequences of this lesson always present to a thousand of them, are as incalculable as they are invincible.

It is the same with slavery. A black throne teaches the negroes of all the colonial states that they may cease to be slaves, and each command in his turn. Negroes made free by general laws indicate to negroes in slavery the end of servitude, torn from their masters by necessity. What an overthrow in the ideas of all interested would not such a change of the established order produce? How to hinder from seeing it, from carrying to it his thoughts and his wishes, from sigh-

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their accomplishment, and ceasing every opportunity of realising them? Example then is still the great power, with strength, which is its appendage at all times and in all places. Has not Europe herself for a long time the double yoke of slavery and

What was their assistance if this state were removed—as soon as there was an example of their success they disappeared. The commonalty of the Colonies, those of England and Germany followed them closely; liberty gets nearer, and every body will be free because one man is so, and set the example of becoming so. The things to the imitation of which we cannot be content; besides, whatever is a yoke must have its weight because it is the nature of all yokes to be so, and the nature of man always to be free.

We mentioned in several places the exclusion of the Colonies in most of the Colonies. Behold then, the bases of colonial order undermined in the

for independence: thus the war, which was made in Europe against the French revolution, was made in America for the revolution of the Colonies, and the Colonies, who abated, or affected to combat, the revolution in Europe, combated with it and for it in the Colonies, and did so strongly. Independence did not advance the less, and the Colonies received it equally from the hand of an enemy as from the hand of a friend: it is what has been clearly seen in the change which took place at the time of the revolution in Spain: she passed over from her alliance with France to that of England, and from a war against England to a war against France; in the latter situation, England attacked the Spanish Colonies; in the latter she resided in her Colonies, she suffered them to be independent, because this independence gave them up to her commerce, which was more lucrative than being their sovereign. The river La Plate and America have afforded, under this shelter of independence, an immense field of commerce for England.

On their side, the Spanish Colonies have not taken a change on the consequences of this new order of things. Feeling themselves ready to be independent, they have become so: they have separated at once from the dominion of Spain, and her quarrel with France: they have equally repulsed the sceptre of Joseph, and the monopoly of Cadiz. Thus when, at the close of the war, Spain presented herself to her Colonies, she found another people, with other relations, other interests, another existence; that is to say, with a consummate independence. The same may be said of Brazil: the King has opened all his ports to those who do the same to him. What must be the result of this? Is not the separation of this country from

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ation upon which the edifice of this independence is elevated? It is precisely so.

And also, the English have marched in the same way by admitting all English subjects to a share in the trade which only belonged to the Company. And, therefore, they have permitted Americans on the continent which they had formerly forbidden; and is this any thing else than independence in favour of England against the Company, and likewise independence of India against England herself?

On the other side, in the whole course of the war, she has done any thing else than sow the seeds of independence every where? Does she not do this, and does not the nature of things compel her to do so in this manner? Let us follow her march.

She is engaged in the greatest war she ever had to maintain. Her existence depends upon it; she must either perish or be saved, and in saving herself she saves the world, and for that purpose we must be

from them, on the simple calculation of interest. Maritime power, that powerful agent of colonial, is not even sufficient to defend the unfortunate Colonists; for, from the want of ability of appearing with honour in the ranks of the combatants, the weaker has recourse to privateering: he skims over the main which he cannot keep; he disguises that flag which he dares no longer employ, and by a thousand manœuvres makes amends for his inferiority: as a pirate, he does that injury which he can no longer do as a soldier. Thus when the military marine of Louis XIV had disappeared from the seas, the privateers of St. Maloes took no fewer than four thousand merchant vessels from the English; and, during the last war, which certainly was the check of the perigeon of the French marine, by what obstinate incursions did not the French privateering system molest the English commerce? Into how many habitations in the Colonies and families in England, has it not carried misery and mourning? Such are the consequences of that want of consideration, on the part of the Europeans, with respect to this very subject, so interesting to the Colonists. But where their evil genius breaks out every day, where he seems to triumph, is in those laws upon matters of detail, which they have scattered with such profusion, over those wretched dependencies of their blind power. One might say, that they had imposed on themselves the task of going contrary to nature, to stop the progress of the Colonies, and to deprive themselves of the advantages which they proposed to themselves, by acquiring the possession of them, in establishing and re-establishing them with such avidity. To be so ardent in desiring, and to neglect what one has acquired with such eagerness, appear to be irrecon-

cilable. That, nevertheless, is what has been done, during three centuries that the Colonies have existed, for Europe. Let us point out the most prominent features of the picture: they do not belong to the Colonies exclusively. The inhabitants of the parent states will also be included, for Europe regulated those Colonies on her own model: they have not to reproach her with having turned the dark side of the column towards them, whilst she held the bright side towards themselves. At that time Europe was no better governed than her Colonies, and her good luck and ignorance are equal.

Two nations, which we do not often meet on the same road, namely, the Spaniards and the English, shall furnish us with striking examples of the most obdurate ignorance of the simplest principles of economy, of the first elements of commerce, of the administration and direction of Colonies. Matters have been carried so far that in searching for the era in which these nations have deserted those customary and blind practices, in examining the degree in which they are still maintained, one is induced to believe mankind to be much younger than they say, or that they have lost much time. Facts shall prove this assertion, which in a general application may appear a bold one.

We cannot speak of Spain and England but from the end of their long civil wars; such as those of the two roses and of the Moors. Up to that period nations knew nothing except fighting. The country was a listed field, and the government a herald at arms, always occupied in summoning the warriors and sounding the charge. That was, all men knew how to do in those ancient times which some would so

Portugal evidently its absolute independence, from the impossibility of making it leave the commerce of the whole world for that of Portugal alone? So it is very evident that, if ever the Sovereign, established at Brazil, goes back to Portugal, he will leave independence behind him, in the counting-houses of Rio Janeiro.

The blockade of mother countries, occasioned by war, and prolonged for several years, is also become a circumstance to hasten the independence of the Colonies. By the interruption of relations between them, metropolises have fallen into disuse: other relations are formed, and when mother countries have appeared again, they have found every way open to independence, by the general establishment of these new relations, and the disgust which their own inspire, always dearer to the Colonies with them than foreigners. But the United States have the most of this kind of motion, proper for displaying the seeds of independence that are sown in every Colony—there the furnace exists, which continually heats the flame of independence. In signing the treaty which rendered America free, Europe signed the great charter of emancipation for all the Colonies. America had taken the word from them all: if her independence was the main-spring of all colonial independence, the Colonies, in their turn, have become her first necessity; they are likewise in her interest: every Colony separated from Europe, becomes so much American, that there is not, in all the United States, a single fibre that does not vibrate in the feelings, and for the end of general independence. To be convinced of it, let us ask, where are the United States? Are they not in America? Does it not follow, that they should desire America to remain separate

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Europe, as Europe would wish to be free from
? All the question is, let each master remain
and surely this question is decided very dif-
in the application, in America, than in Eu-
Nay more, the United States being, in this
a navigating and commercial people, it is of
ce to them that every port and market, and
y the richest and nearest, should be open; and
e there a greater number, nearer and richer,
se which America and the Colonies border
dependence, which opens these places of com-
a to them, these ports, which are shut up,
roduces them to the sources of these riches,
dependence excludes them from, should be
e object of all their desires, and the end of all
ions. Independence has given St. Domingo
commerce: independence has given them the
Plata, the kingdom of Terra Firma, the
independence calls them to Mexico, to Peru,

not in its power to stop the nature of things any more than the general tendency of the country ; because it cannot hinder the effect of that sight which its own independence presents ; because it cannot hinder this example from being the seducer of its own nature, nor prevent other Colonies from seeing it, and desiring to become associated with that happiness, of which independence is the source. How, in effect, can the rest of America be prevented from seeing the United States free, flourishing, affranchised from the laws and quarrels of Europe, by the effect of their independence, and hinder them from aspiring to the same lot, by the same means ? Is it not to act contrary to, or rather to wish to annul, the human heart, with all that it retains of inclinations and affections ? There exist, then, circumstances which may be called premature, that show the natural tendency of Colonies to independence, and which shoot out before the term that nature had fixed for them ; and that she alone should have brought forward the independence of the Colonies is, then, in their nature, like their dependence, subject both to the same laws, emanated from nature for the infancy as well as manhood of every being. All the efforts of the mother countries to oppose this will be totally lost : all their art must consist in observing well the developement of their Colonies ; to follow their progress ; to order themselves so as always to walk above them ; to avoid consultations with them by making pretensions or restrictions out of season ; to yield to every thing that is reasonable ; to prevent even their demand for it ; in fine, to substitute the bonds of friendship and gratitude for the imperious laws of authority, that time always tends to weaken. For this, they must carefully observe the degrees of develop-

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At the Colonies acquire, adapt their conduct to
only believe they cannot treat them all in the
anner, nor as of the same age; thus the mode
istration, the measures which suit one, and
to the other, must be calculated on the respec-
e of the Colonies, and cannot be adapted
to all Colonies, nor to the same Colonies in
and in all places. The consideration of these
cumstances should be the object of attention,
attended to on the part of the mother coun-
eir omission has cost England the happy loss
ited States: at this moment it costs Spain that
Colonies, which that mother country seeks
without knowing either why or how, and that
the same moment when the developement of the
strength of these Colonies, joined to the cir-
es in the midst of which they are placed, and
ways tend to aggravate them, push them to
dependence in an irresistible manner.

When independence shall be established generally throughout the American continent, of what use will be the dependence of the islands? How can they be defended against a crowd of neutrals? Why should the mother countries deny themselves the ports of all nations, to preserve their own alone? Will not the dependence of her Colonies then appear to every mother country an absolute inconvenience, operating only to deprive it of the benefit of every other Colony become independent? The calculation is always the same; *one against all, is all against one.* It is what we shall see happen, when the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, shall be open to the commerce of those mother countries whose Colonies will not be shut against them: we shall also see these mother countries hastening to abjure their petty exclusions, in order not to sustain a greater; and, receiving every body, to be, in their turn, every where received. All these colonial questions form, as we see, a chain, whose links are strongly bound together, and from which one cannot be taken, without evidently breaking the connexion. The dependence and independence of the Colonies are in this situation: the former resulted from a common system, which is destroyed; the latter now results from another common system, which tends to take place of the former: both have been and are the necessary production of the time. We can offer no more opposition to the latter than could have been offered to the former; and there remains, to the view of every wise man, nothing more than to prevent or diminish the inconveniences of the passage from one to the other.

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CHAP. XIX.

*Comparison, prepared and not prepared, of the
Colonies from the Mother Countries. Dangers
and Advantages in these respective Cases.*

Many side things have arrived at the point to
Colonies tend, with all their force, to fulfil
of their destiny, which carries them towards
independence. The elements of this change, which
are inherent in their nature, have been developed with
a force which is irresistible; and to pretend to
stop would be to pretend to stop, in humanity,
the progress which conducts to manhood, and which

new estate? On the contrary, should the mother countries, in abandoning them to time and chance, wait the result of the explosion of liberty in their Colonies, and the effects of passing from dependence to a separation pronounced without consent, and in spite of them? In a word, should mother countries, consenting to what the sole force of things make them submit to, remain law-givers in a land of which they can no longer be mistresses, or rather abandon it to the movement which drags them on in exposing themselves to all the consequences of *leaving things to their course*? Such is the difference between the separation, prepared and not prepared, of the Colonies.

The separation may operate in several ways:—
First, By voluntary abandonment, such as Charles V wished it to be at the conquest of America, and as a great number of wise men in Spain have wished it to be since this epoch.

Secondly, By the changing a mother country to a Colony, and the Colony to a metropolis; as has just happened between Portugal and Brazil, and as would have happened at an anterior epoch, when Philip V, pursued by his enemies, flying from his capital, thought of transporting to America the seat of empire, which he abandoned in Spain to his competitor.

“You will come back in ten years, to conquer Spain with the treasures of Mexico,” said a courtier to him: a true proposition of the courtier, who believes that gold is all and does all, when they come back from Mexico to Spain, and quit Mexico for barren Madrid. This man must have been from Madrid. The same change would still have taken place, if Charles IV had not been stopped at Aranjuez, and if they had opened the route to Mexico to Ferdinand VII, instead

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g on him the gates of Valencey. In these
s, the Colony became a metropolis; and in
of separation, which should have followed the
of the sovereignty exercised in America, by
who was an enemy to the Sovereign of Spain;
endence of the Colony was consummated,
ould have formed a distinct state from the

Separation may be produced by the dis-
between the Colonies and mother country,
the war which always follows this kind of
uch has been the separation of the American
rong with their population, their manhood,
ns, their Franklin, their Washington, they
o the mother country, that its empire over
attained its end; that they were in a situa-
conduct themselves; that they desired its
, and did not care for its hatred. To this
nce, unknown on the part of any Colony

loss of 100,000 men, and two milliards of (French) money: it was after she had spent this that she ratified what she had fought against, from a pure want of reflexion; and America has been declared, and has remained free, by the double right of arms and the acknowledgment of every nation.

Fourthly, For eighteen years Spain has been separated from her Colonies by wars, in which she has taken part, either by consent or by force. In 1795, she had the imprudence to unite herself to France; immediately the road to her Colonies is shut up: the ports of the latter are open to neutrals: the profits of trade with them pass into their hands. Spain yields Louisiana to France; the latter sells it to the United States; these are established around the Gulf of Mexico, taking, by means of Louisiana, the Spanish Colonies in reverse, and opening routes across the country to the Pacific Ocean. Pressed by necessity, blocked up in Europe, unhappy Spain borrows the channel of the United States, in order that the treasures which languished in the mints of Mexico, might arrive by a way less exposed. The war is prolonged: the English twice attack Buenos Ayres: they seized Trinidad, as a plank on which to pass over to the Spanish Continent, and open a large trade with it. The United States, with all the neutrals, do as much. The Colonists easily accustom themselves to the sweets of this new commerce: the mother country is forgotten, effaced; one hears her no more spoken of; neither succour nor provisions are received from her any more; she herself falls into revolution; she is threatened with a fresh yoke: the Colonies repel it as much as she; but during this interim, the circumstance of the evils that their alliance with the mother country has brought upon them, the facility and utility

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themselves from it, have produced other ideas; and other ties; have separated them from a sterile, fallen into disuse by her distance, interruption of communications; fallen into inactivity by her weakness; and, when the common ties disappeared, the heart finds itself without aid and the Colony answers the invitations and the mother country, by cries of war and declarations to remain foreign to her obedience to her commands, which have no more reference to her new existence.

In this manner has the separation of America from Britain operated: her Colonies have escaped from their own strength, but by her personal weakness she has not been able either to protect or keep them. They have been provided elsewhere, and independence has been carried to them by the torrent of the strength of necessity.

Colonies may be separated from mother

would abstain from doing, if they possessed the faculties that belong to large Colonies. If Curaçoa, Surinam, Martinique, had equalled the United States in extent and strength, is it to be supposed they would have offered themselves anew to the yoke of a mother country, and their exclusion? Is it not evident, on the contrary, that their weakness caused their submission, and that they have remained Colonies on the sole account of their disproportion to the mother country? The prolongation of war was sufficient to render them independent; for the indecision of the contest contributing to prolong the absence or disappearance of the Sovereign, the Colonies could not fail in providing one for themselves, and in governing themselves separately from the mother country, for at last we must know to whom one belongs.

Sixthly, Colonies may be separated by the transposition of power, from the European population of the Colony to foreign population brought into the Colony. St. Domingo has perished in this way. The Europeans have not separated, as American Spanish settlers have done; on the contrary, it is the foreign population, imported by the settlers themselves; these are the blacks, who have massacred the whites, and taken their place; and who, not having to observe the caution with which the fear of the blacks inspired the whites (and which attached these latter to the mother country), have separated from her, from whence the whites, their ancient masters came, and from whence they might yet come back to master them anew. In this case the political independence of the blacks was the natural consequence of individual liberty: we should well observe this. The slave has more need of independence than the European settler

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is only affected by dependence under political and commercial relations. Slaves are more so in personal relations. Whatever be the colonial government, the settler is free in his person ; he enjoys liberty, he participates in all the advantages of the slave, on the contrary, cannot attain the benefit of these blessings, and maintain himself in possession, without joining to the independence of his person ; the one gains him the other. Thus, inasmuch as Toussaint, Petion, Christophe, and all those who are nearest to them, are elevated, and maintain them in the rank in which we have seen, and still see the independence of the Colony has necessarily the freedom of the slaves, and confirmed their desire. The white only wants independence, on account of his fortune ; the black wants it at once for his fortune and liberty : it is this which makes every Colony with a nearer escaping from the mother country.

own prosperity. No people has yet given this principle of illumination and generosity; so strong is it with a people as well as with private individuals; but power have the narrow calculations of personal interest, of dimming even the most penetrating eyes; fearful are they of losing, even where their greatest advantages are hidden under the appearance of a loss: the word loss is a terror-striking name for all men. However, the mother countries were invited to this abandonment of their Colonies by the greatest interests. The United States are a proof of this. What has it cost England in having neglected to observe the principle which prescribed to her to adapt her conduct to the state of her Colony, and what does it not cost now, at this moment, for not having known how to avoid the same fault!

On another side the default of preparation for separation contains and produces the greatest dangers, as for the Colonies as the mother countries.

In Colonies where European blood forms the greatest part of the population, unprepared separation is a death-warrant, as it has been at St. Domingo, as it will be every where where black slaves are the most numerous and the strongest. In the vast number of insurrections that have taken place in the Colonies since the year 1763 and twenty years, is there one that has not set out from the same point and which has not tended to the same end—the massacre of the whites, and the government of the Colony by blacks? In every one of which the Colonies and mother countries have run the same danger for their physical or political existence. The same thing would have happened in India if the same seeds of impatience under a yoke had existed in the midst of the peaceable Hindoos, that inflamed the

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of the African. To be convinced of it we need only hunt the Indians and the English in India. At Brazil, the separation prevented by the arrival of the Portuguese in that country had not been effected without blood and without very severe consequences to the Indians by the mixture of bloods, which are four. In North America there are five, all enemies to one another. In some parts, the blacks are very numerous; in others the mulattoes; there the indigines; here the whites. The separation which puts such heterogeneous elements in motion without any preparation, places them necessarily in a situation of mutual hostility, and consequently, in the greatest danger. These different parts of population are the keenest we know of, much more so than those of faction or religion, which have done much harm to humanity; because their objects are continually present, and on every side is read on their countenances. Thus we see how these popu-

use of murderous arms : when in place of labouring must fight ; when instead of furnishing the mother country with his produce and receiving hers in return, he must defend himself against her soldiers, the ministers of her vengeance and the avengers of her yoke, are not the Colony and mother country equally sufferers ? What did not England suffer during her contest with her Colonies, what injury does not the fighting of Spain against America do to Spain, and what injury does not America receive in her turn by the attack of Spain ? If, to bring Buenos Ayres back to her duty, she must begin by destroying it, would not Spain and America be equally impoverished ? It is almost like a man setting fire to his farm and killing his cattle to establish order among his labourers. We see then the whole world ruined or in the way of being so, because they have not reckoned upon the necessity of preparing the necessary separation of the Colony from the mother country.

The evil is aggravated still more and becomes double when at the same time there is both a mixture of blood and a combat with the metropolis ; thus it happens, now in America. The Spanish royalists massacre the Spanish independents : the blacks and mulattoes massacre the Spaniards, whether independents or royalists, without any distinction ; and in addition to this, they massacre each other ; moreover, the independents of all colours still have to fight with the European Spaniards : these massacre them without pity wherever they fall into their hands ; and in their turn are massacred by them ; and what is the worst, the necessity of defending themselves and of releasing themselves for ever from such hard masters has made them have recourse to the terrible remedy of emancipating the blacks, as

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did when he came to Caracas. From this we see the origin of the scourges of every kind which are brought forth at once upon the Colonies and upon the mother country by a burst of independence which has been prepared for by any calculation, or directed by any man, and which is effected in the midst of such disorders as must be produced by the clash of interests, the rage of the populations, of massacres, conflagrations, and every disaster which the ferocity habitual to such disorders can create.

Supposing that the mother country should pronounce divorce by the Colony, and should leave it master of its own fate, what a horrible consequence would be the consequence of thus casting a child into the world and leaving it to itself, after having been long under her leading-strings, but without having prepared any means of existence! Thus if Spain had had been open to her true interests and had left her

are lavished upon the New World, to whom those rivers, the possession of which makes the strength and opulence of these states? Of how many and of what members would a single association be formed? Would the people, living towards the Pacific Ocean and Asia, unite with those living on the European side, or would they separate from each other? Are not all these varieties in opinion, and in conduct, all these contradictory opinions to be observed in the separation of America from Spain? Who will reconcile all these incongruities? Who will prescribe any system for the insurgents? Who will go to seek them in their deserts, beyond rivers as large as seas, in their impenetrable forests, over mountains the most inaccessible in the world?

We must take great care not to form calculations respecting gigantic America by the same rules we should with respect to humble Europe, or to make no difference between the difficulties which would arise at every step from the want of great societies, and the facilities of every kind with which Europe is covered by the labours of two centuries, performed by the skillful hands of the most polished nations; the effects of which labour nevertheless go no farther yet than the frontiers of Germany and Poland, beyond which every thing is nearly the same as it is in America. In the West Indies this would be still worse between parts so different in manners, in language, in origin, and in extent of territory, and which are still more separated by the difficulties which tempestuous weather causes in their communication with each other. And how and by whom would the form of government, that principal and disputed object of all human associations, be settled? Who could force them to submit to it? One

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sh for a monarch, another for a republic; and
an absolute sovereign: what confusion, what
and mischiefs would ensue, before a well
arrangement should terminate their difficulties,
dry up the source of their calamities! All
s are escaped by a separation that has been
for, which, though it cuts, it is true, the
connection between the mother country and
nies, would do it however with all the precau-
ch foreknowledge and wisdom could dictate,
ch such great interests should call for. By
render ourselves masters of the very separate
to the actual fruits of the Colonies we add
which may reasonably be expected to follow
der of things. For example, in a separation
not prepared for, the system of government,
the most usual source of civil troubles, espe-
on every thing is unsettled, floats without any
e help or any place of destination: no more

was attended by an uniformity of interests, views, and actions, as well as of locality. The English in America asked of their parents, the English in Europe, to be permitted to enjoy the advantages of their manhood, and they were ready to obtain that consent by their arms which they saw would be refused to their respectful demands. So that they did not hesitate for a single instant in the choice of their government, or for an instant had they any discord as to accepting it. Those who did not agree (and where are they not to be found?) have left the country and followed their ancient masters: their absence became a principal cause of harmony.

This example affords a great lesson to all mother countries, as also to their Colonies. The United States may be said to serve as a model, even for Europe; and amidst all that can be learned from them, nothing concerns Europe more than the means by which these States have enfranchised themselves without any violent shock and without any internal confusion.

CHAP. XX.

Necessity of a Colonial Congress.

WHENEVER great commotions take place, whenever a great number of interests are affected and injured, and serious and lasting effects follow, good management and a regard for the future require that a return of these troubles should be prevented, and that a system should be established founded equally upon the

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and the future, upon that which is existing
which necessarily must exist; but, in discus-
this importance, nature and justice require
who are interested should be consulted: not
one of their first laws. Hence has originated
of political assembly which is called a Con-
in all times this method has been preserved, and
been attended with great success. Such was the
which put an end, by the peace of Westphalia,
troubles which had divided Europe for thirty
Since Europe thought proper to have recourse
measure to deliver itself from the disturbances
it had been experiencing for the last five and
years, with how much more reason ought it
make use of the same measure to put an end
to the commotions in the colonial system? In
to form a just idea of this necessity, we must
y considering the nature and the number of in-
which call for this measure. We must take

is entirely free, questions of principle which require decisions that are applicable to them alone, and which will be the first that will offer themselves. From this we shall perceive the size of the evil which we have neglected: when we shall be willing to look around and learn from what it originated, then shall we know the extent of our negligence, and of the difficulties which it has created, and we are able to say with confidence that the knowledge will possess more exactness than it will afford consolation.

In fact, the colonial system must be settled in all its parts; as to the greatest number of inhabitants, the monopoly of commerce, the sovereignty of the Colonies, and, finally, as to the general police: for it will be necessary to take some course about the contraband trade which is carried on by the Colonies that are inferior in productions. The Colonies of the second order lie opposite those which are superior to them in produce and in riches. Above all, it will be necessary to come to some understanding respecting slavery, and to put an end to that diversity of conduct which prevails on this head. For example, some have abolished the slave trade, others continue it: and we have seen some small Colonies declare that their slaves shall be free at a determinate period. We must most carefully prevent the weak Colonies from taking the lead in questions of state, which are in themselves common to all the colonial possessions; and from thus deciding the fate of the more powerful.

Passing from this subject to that of the positive sovereignty, such as it now exists in an actual state, we shall find nations deprived of Colonies, whose flourishing condition they had been the cause of; others who

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the support which sustained their Colonies. And, we shall see Portugal become a Colony, and her Colony a mother country in. on the other hand, England swelled with of the whole world, ruling over every sea, every Colony. But what shall we say, when America shall come, as we may say, to sue force before Europe, and to state the causes under them incompatible with each other? We to all these difficulties the breach in the equilibrium, which is entirely destroyed by the power of England. Since the balance of power and appearance, been restored to some reality articles of the congress of Vienna, certainly efforts of another congress should be directed the restoration of some equality at sea, and securing safety on the roads which leads to seas. There would be still more ample work progress than there was for the congress of

present and the future, upon that which is existing and that which necessarily must exist; but, in discussions of this importance, nature and justice require that all who are interested should be consulted: and this is one of their first laws. Hence has originated that kind of political assembly which is called a Congress. In all times this method has been preserved, and has often been attended with great success. Such was the congress which put an end, by the peace of Westphalia, to the troubles which had divided Europe for thirty years. Since Europe thought proper to have recourse to this measure to deliver itself from the disturbances which it had been experiencing for the last five or twenty years, with how much more reason ought it not to make use of the same measure to put an end for ever to the commotions in the colonial system? In order to form a just idea of this necessity, we must begin by considering the nature and the number of interests which call for this measure. We must take care not to judge of what will be necessary for the Colonies by what has been necessary for Europe. There is no similitude between them. In Europe, the sovereignty of only a few States has been changed; in the Colonies, almost all the States have experienced the same lot; in Europe, the difference of colour has not armed one part of the inhabitants against the other; in the Colonies, colour and the subdivisions of colour keep the inhabitants in a state of habitual hostility; in Europe, the laws of monopoly do not confine commerce to some particular places and to some particular markets; in the Colonies, on the contrary, the shackles of monopoly are the subject of dispute between them and the mother countries. With respect to the latter therefore, there are questions from which Europe

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on every side by great independent Colonies, be defended against them, and would not be worth the trouble of preserving, and which, in a state of dependence, would not be able to compete in cultivation with the independent Colonies. At this present time, from the Straits of Florida to California, over an extent of country 900 leagues in length, and many hundred in breadth, the Colonies are fighting, slaughtering and exterminating each other: the madness of man never before made a vast grave for himself. This is the second time in 100 years that the Spaniards have exterminated the Colonies of America: the first time, because the Colonies were their inferiors; the second, because of the audacity to wish to be their equals. At various times, and among others in 1768, the Colonies have endeavoured to resume the government of the country, and to drive out their masters. If

found a nation as ready to throw off their dominion as it had been to throw off the dominion of Joseph, and which is as unwilling to be governed by Spain, as Spain had been unwilling to be governed by France.

The Spaniards presented themselves in America with their ancient laws, and troops to enforce their reception. Resolute in their principles of monopoly and exclusion, over which the council of the Indies watched, as the dragon watched over the garden of the Hesperides, they required America to shut herself up exclusively for them, and to serve them alone. In order to support these demands, they have let loose upon America some thousands of men, armed restorers of their dominion; and they are preparing to send out fresh troops: they reckon upon the royalists making a diversion in their favour, who are excited by the Spanish clergy in America, who show themselves there as they do every where else, violent supporters of absolute power. The Spaniards have made Carthagena their military depôt; from thence their forces can easily extend over the coasts of the South Sea, and attack Mexico and Peru in the rear. This is certainly a part of the plan, the execution of which has been confided to General Morillo. The strictest renewal of the monopoly has been required, and it again becomes the common law wherever they are the masters, or their partisans have the upper hand, so that wherever an end is put to the liberty of the country, an end is also put to the freedom of trade, and America, when subjected to Spain, is also subjected to the ports of the Peninsula: and that must never be lost sight of in this question. This alone makes all the European nations parties in the cause: for there is not a single one whose nearest interests are not affected by it, as

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show hereafter. We see very well that a project of this kind, taking the place of a free trade, is the most likely thing to bring back the rebellion to obedience to a mother country so hurried. Thus, latterly, we have seen the Havannah force its viceroy into withdrawing the monopoly which he had oppressed the Colony. He was obliged to yield to the murmurs of a Colony which was attached to customs that were too opposite to the wishes of the council of the Indies and the monopoly itself to suffer them to be renewed by a simple decree of the mother country.

Questions arise from this state of affairs.

Is Spain able to reconquer her American Colonies?

Yes. Would she be able to keep them?

The best manner of deciding these questions is, without doubt, to compare the means of attack and of defence with the means of preserving these Colonies with

own forces : she will have to work, as she has already done, with small bodies of men, sent over from time to time, and the levying of which, as also the departure, the transporting, and the arrival, are subject to all the inconveniences that are attached to these kind of expeditions, in all nations, and especially in a nation that is slow, ill provided with the means of transporting a great number of men, not at all attentive to the equipment of her vessels, or the preservation of her men, and careless of those minutiae which most contribute to the success of these armaments. What a difference between an expedition of this kind made by the Spaniards, and one conducted by the English ! Thus the armaments of Spain will be weak and always shackled by the very nature of the Spanish government ; but what are these armaments in comparison with a country like America, so immense, so difficult to be penetrated by an army, where there are neither roads nor passages, over rivers both broad and numerous, where the towns lie at great distances from each other, where it is necessary, in order to arrive at any place whatever, to pass over immense tracts of country, and where there are no magazines, no places of safety, and no hospitals ? America will be defended by its climate, the attacks of which are not to be braved by Europeans without the greatest danger. A body of 10,000 men, after having been formed at Cadiz, passed some months on board a ship, landed, and rendered any service, will have lost at least a third of its number. The natives do not suffer any of these inconveniences ; they are upon the field of battle, are used to the climate, and are in number an hundred to one against the Spaniards. The inequality is visible. Discipline and military knowledge are on the side of

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European soldier : yes, but only for a time : the
had the advantage of the United States in all
ics. But which side did victory declare for?
ish Americans will become inured to war, in
way the English Americans became so ; to-
are the weakest, but to-morrow they will be
rest. In order to conquer, they have only to
order to gain the victory, they have only to
engagement, to substitute national for regular
to be every where around their enemies and
ore them, to harass and to weary them, and
by fatigue which they could not execute by
in this case we must make a calculation, not
y force, but of human strength. We speak
war as of a science, and with allusion to
of honour which is acquired in battle, in a
nt, and in fighting with an enemy according
rules of art, and to the regulations established

rounded on every side by great independent Colonies, could not be defended against them, and would not even be worth the trouble of preserving, and which in this state of dependence, would not be able to stand a competition in cultivation with the independent Colonies. At this present time, from the Straits of Magellan to California, over an extent of country 900 leagues in length, and many hundred in breadth, the inhabitants are fighting, slaughtering and exterminating each other: the madness of man never before dug such a vast grave for himself. This is the second time in 300 years that the Spaniards have exterminated the population of America: the first time, because the inhabitants were their inferiors; the second, because they had the audacity to wish to be their equals.

At various times, and among others in 1768, the natives have endeavoured to resume the government of their own country, and to drive out their masters. If the enterprise, which was formed by Tupac Amaru, had been crowned with success, it would have overthrown the Spanish dominion in America; but the present case is quite different, the Spaniards themselves have joined with a part of the natives, and are fighting with the mother country, and asking the ancient inhabitants of America to assist them in breaking the Spanish yoke. The scene, as we see, is changed, and the plot is leading to a very different catastrophe. The commotion has extended in the twinkling of an eye, from the kingdom of Terra Firma over this vast continent: so ripe was every thing for this event. In order to accomplish it, they took advantage of the troubles in which Spain was engaged in Europe. The Spaniards had hardly got out of those troubles, before America gave them full employment; but they there

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the road to America is as much frequented from Paris to London ; now that the sea is like the land, thousands of Europeans will flock to America in order to defend it, as the Spaniards flocked there at the time of its discovery in order to plunder it. Spanish America will again see the Pizarro and Almagre, issue from every part of the continent ; it has already had its Liniere, twice the conqueror and preserver of Buenos Ayres ; it will find all the Europeans who are seeking Glory and Fame which they cannot find in Europe. We need not say, that the altars of these cities are overthrown, or at least much lowered in the heart of the world ; but they will be raised up in America, and in those colossal proportions which belong to great revolutions and to countries where every thing remains to be done. Spain, to its own forces which are much inferior to

nishing its adversaries with recruits. What attractions can it offer them which will balance the incitements to desertion with which its enemies will dazzle their eyes? The gold and silver of their mines, the land which they can grant them, and the wives which they can give them the choice of, are so many means of speaking to their eyes, and of determining them by the feelings which lead a man towards a desire of a better condition, and towards the hand which offers it to him. When we take all these things into consideration, when we see that the example of the campaign of Moscow is before their eyes, as well as the war which was carried on in their own country, for Spain is engaged in a war which unites all the disadvantages which have signalized those two unfortunate expeditions, we cannot conceive how the Spaniards could have taken the course they are pursuing with respect to America. Will experience then be always thrown away upon mankind? But in addition to all this, Spain has not even the means of continuing the war against America, and on the other hand, the longer America fights, the more she acquires the means of resistance. The reason of this is plain.

America is become the support, and in some measure the nurse of Spain, as, in a family, the child when grown up and become rich, supports its parents in their old age. Whence come the riches of Spain, both taxes, and the incomes of private persons, which in their turn add to the public wealth? Was it not from America? The latter sent every year to the treasury at Madrid the sum of 60,000,000 of livres, and to Cadiz, more than 150,000,000 livres, as the balance of trade, or of the incomes of private persons. This money brought into Spain, and spent there, also

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the public revenue, either by direct or indirect taxes; for, in Spain, as every where else, a duty is levied upon every article of consumption. But all resources are dried up, and thus the distress is increased, in which Spain is involved by the misfortune which she has suffered. Even at any other times this would have been very much felt: what must not be the case in such a time as this! What means then of continuing this war? Will it be with the resources which have been forced from the commercial colonies? But this resource will not go far, and woe to the colonies which are maintained by such expedients. Spain has not wherewithal to supply the expenses of the present war,* will be still less able to provide for the expenses of a war with America. Even with the resources which she has experienced a deficiency: what will it be when she is at war with America and against America? It is very probable that they will continue to send troops in great quantities each time, till they will be no longer

the European soldier : yes, but only for a time : the English had the advantage of the United States in all these tactics. But which side did victory declare for? The Spanish Americans will become inured to war, in the same way the English Americans became so : to-day they are the weakest, but to-morrow they will be the strongest. In order to conquer, they have only to fly : in order to gain the victory, they have only to avoid an engagement, to substitute national for regular warfare, to be every where around their enemies and never before them, to harass and to weary them, and to do that by fatigue which they could not execute by force. In this case we must make a calculation, not of military force, but of human strength. We speak always of war as of a science, and with allusion to that kind of honour which is acquired in battle, in a tournament, and in fighting with an enemy according to all the rules of art, and to the regulations established in these sort of engagements, instead of considering war with reference to its object, the destruction of the enemy. But, it is in this latter manner, we may depend upon it, that it will be carried on against the Spanish troops. Their enemies will not attack them in front, but individually : they will fly in order to harass, to weary, and finally to destroy them. They will do the same in America as the Spaniards did in Spain against the French, and the troops of Ferdinand will be treated in his Colonies as the troops of Napoleon were in his kingdom. There is an example, and it will be followed ; it will be prescribed and imitated by those very persons who have suffered so much in Spain : for we cannot doubt that a crowd of French and foreign soldiers are rushing towards the field of glory or of fortune which is open to their turbulence,

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France were to destroy Lyons, and burn
and Sedan. Will Spain have advanced any
when she has ruined herself in order to ruin
colonies? But that is precisely what she is.
One would think by looking at her actions,
according to her ideas there was only one thing
world, sovereignty and possession; and that,
we possess and reign over a country, it does
whether we do or do not derive any fruits
whether the possession is profitable or not,
every thing consisted in preserving the naked
of an object; but on the contrary there are
cases in which commercial relations are
productive than possession could be, as
has experienced in the loss of America, from
he derives the profits of trade, without having
se of defending the possession.

would be no more able to preserve America
argument, that she is able to conquer it, as has

progress it has made in the first period, and that which it will make in the second are the cause of this. The Spaniards settled in America in very small numbers; and now, at the end of three centuries, they amount to many millions of inhabitants; they increase their own population by an importation of men, who, in their turn, multiply themselves in every branch of colonial population; they mix with the natives, and after a very short lapse of time, they surpass the population of the mother country, in spite of all the losses which they suffer by the attacks of the climate, the exhalations from the marshy lands, and by living in a country and among men that they are ignorant of, without the aid of any of the preservatives which knowledge and time have pointed out: and, nevertheless, their numbers already amount to nearly twenty millions. What will it amount to then, starting from the point which they have reached, and having for the root of their future population that which now exists, and which is familiarized to all the properties of the soil which it inhabits, and enjoying every advantage that favours the increase of population? That of America ought to increase in a more rapid proportion than that of the United States has done, because it has much more room, and because to seas more extensive and less boisterous, to rivers much larger, and to ports more numerous and secure, it joins a land infinitely more fruitful and yielding more abundant means of subsistence, which every where regulates population. Spanish America, as well as being much more extensive than the United States, tends also to an increase of population superior to that which the United States are able to reach. When we consider that in Mexico a few years have been sufficient to form

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The Guanaxuatao containing eighty thousand
very names of which have hardly reached
we can have an idea of the population it is
to possess. The mother country is infinitely
being susceptible of the same increase. Spain
contain twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty mil-
; in a word, a population to which we are
to assign any bounds, as America cannot help
The Colony has began by inferiority to the
country; it has arrived at an equality; it will
a short time, an incomparable superiority,
then will Spain be able to contend with her
If her inferiority is manifest even in the pre-
of the population of her Colony, what will it
this shall be still more numerous? Let them
they can, the means by which fifteen millions of
can rule over forty millions of Americans living
a thousand leagues from them: what means
will take to keep the latter in subjection?

lieve, interested against the cause of liberty; but what interest have they against it? On the contrary, there is not a single American whom interest and zeal do not inspire in the defence of his own cause. We saw this in the war with the United States. The English were not long before they found that they had to do with men equal to themselves, and who, by dwelling in the New World, knew more of it than those in the Old World did; and who, in proportion as the contest was prolonged, strengthened themselves in their resolution, while in England they had lost sight of the subject of the quarrel, and while the soldiers, to whom the charge of maintaining it was committed, were growing languid in the service of a cause of which they did not perceive distinctly either the motive or the object: in the mean time, the Americans, connected both the one and the other with the greatest facility, as always happens in these kind of contests, the object of which the assailant never perceives distinctly, while he who acts on the defensive always sees it with clearness, and maintains it with perseverance. There is a great difference between coming from Spain to America to hinder the inhabitants from being free, and wishing to be free in America, on the part of those who are inhabitants of it! The degree of interest which will be felt on the two sides gives us the degree of activity which they will use to obtain the superiority.

Spain then, evidently, would be too feeble to preserve America after a second conquest; she would be so much the more unable to do it, as she would find that the disposition of the Colonies towards the very independence which she wished to stifle would be always increasing: the causes of it would be:

First, The remembrance of the past;

armies always ready : the first in America, the second at sea, and the third in Spain, always under sail, in order to render assistance wherever it should be called for. The extent of the Spanish Colonies will also require efforts proportionate to the extent of such a vast country : so that Spain will be obliged to have five armies in order to overawe the five great divisions of Paraguay, Mexico, Peru, Terra Firma, and New Granada, without reckoning Chili, the Havannah, and Porto Rico. Thus Spain will have to reckon by hundreds of thousands of men, as well as by hundreds of millions of livres. She was depopulated by the first conquest of America, and what was then left to be done, she will finish by the second, but without receiving the same compensation : for the former conquest procured her her Colonies, while the latter on the contrary, will deprive her of them.

The general commotion which independence has excited in America, has reached the United States, so that Spain must take precautions with respect to them : every thing there conspires in favour of this independence—insinuations, supplies of arms, and voluntary enrolments ; the youth of the United States are taking flight towards Mexico, and their vessels towards the ports which are opened by the independents. How long will this state of things last, without producing an open rupture ? and in that case how can Spain provide for that fresh expense ? The United States by thus interposing, will put an end to an inhuman contest, which is ruinous to the whole world, and to Spain in particular : for Spain loses a purchaser by every American killed by a Spanish soldier : and every city that is burnt, diminishes its riches and the demand for its commodities. It is the same thing as if the

rica, from the nature of things, would be induced to renew the contest every time an opportunity offered. Liberty, especially to large Colonies, is so great and so evident a good, that when they have once known it they can never cease endeavouring to obtain it.

The exclusive trade will also incessantly occasion a desire for independence. America has taken up arms still more against this than against the dominion of Spain: if she fought to obtain it before she had tasted its advantages, in what manner will she not fight to procure them again, especially when monopoly should be re-established in all its rigour, as Spain has already attempted and will do if she remains the mistress? There will not be a single commercial act, a single transaction, that will not stir up and recall independence in America. Every advance that foreigners shall make in the career of industry will incite a desire for that independence which would permit them also to participate in this progress, and to enjoy the fruits of it, while the monopoly forbids them to do so, and hinders them from touching the advantages which they have within their reach. On the other hand the independence of the United States and of Brazil are two beacons placed so much under the eyes and so near the shores of Spanish America, that it can never lose sight of them, or cease to be enticed to imitate them; this influence can no more be deprived of its effect, than the warmth of the sun could be deprived of its vivifying effects upon nature. For the same reason that America has once conceived her liberty as possible, she will always conceive it to be so. The commotion which she has felt will not stop, but will be renewed every instant by the durable or rather in-

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expression of the act which was the cause of

we speak of the liberty or of the submission
America, we ought to begin by the proper under-
standing of three things.

Of a general or partial submission.

If the submission is general, we then come to the
question of the independence of trade; mono-
poly should be re-established at the same time with
British authority: for that is acquainted with no
other. But this monopoly, the harshness of
which excited the first insurrection, will not have
been more supportable or more agreeable in the
eyes of the Americans: it will accordingly be the
cause of fresh insurrections; such will be the train of
events which cannot be avoided. Is trade free, they
will be independent; is it exclusive, they will wish to be
independent at any price. But in this re-esta-
blishment of monopoly a fresh inconvenience will

towns like Guanaxuatao containing eighty thousand souls, the very names of which have hardly reached Europe, we can have an idea of the population it is destined to possess. The mother country is infinitely short of being susceptible of the same increase. Spain will never contain twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty million souls; in a word, a population to which we are not able to assign any bounds, as America cannot help doing. The Colony has begun by inferiority to the mother country; it has arrived at an equality; it will attain, in a short time, an incomparable superiority. But how then will Spain be able to contend with her Colony? If her inferiority is manifest even in the present state of the population of her Colony, what will it be when this shall be still more numerous? Let them show, if they can, the means by which fifteen millions of Spaniards can rule over forty millions of Americans living two or three thousand leagues from them: what means will the former take to keep the latter in subjection? If India contained half the number of English inhabitants that America does Spanish, it would be free. The Spanish Americans are not Indians domineered over by a handful of English; they are no longer the subjects of the Caziques or of the Incas, and no longer novices in the European arts; but they are Spaniards in America similar in every thing to the Spaniards in Europe, and possessing, which the latter do not, the support which always attends those who defend liberty, to the exclusion of those who attack it. What does it matter to three fourths of the soldiers of Morillo whether America is free or not: let them look for a moment into their own hearts, and they immediately fly into the arms of those whom they were about to fight. Their leaders and those who sent them are, we can be-

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In one word, the Colonies would make as many demands as they have hitherto suffered from.

If the monopoly is maintained, it leads to revolt and independence, as the only means of getting free from the despotic yoke.

Finally, If the subjection of America is only partial, if nothing is done; the fire still burning in one place will break out in another, because the cause of emigration will not have ceased. The Colonist who is still in arms will be the soldier of the disaffected Colonist; the latter, who will not have given up the hope of being free, will also wish that his country should remain so, as a model for him to follow, and as his ally hereafter: his wishes and efforts must naturally accompany him; his hands will be at him according as opportunities shall offer. The submission of Spanish America is not final, as the flame which is not extinguished will

endeavouring to keep them in independence, which Spain meets with in her contest with America. The United States are, in comparison with the extent of Spanish America, what a single department is in comparison with the whole of France: the United States are, in fact as well as in name, had one government for them all, and but one executive power: Spanish America, on the contrary, has a great number. While the United States have but one congress, the Americans have ten: for each division of America has its own. Even when the Spaniards have finished with one, they have done nothing with another. This state of general confusion is the strength of the insurgents and the despair of their enemies: it is impossible to seize upon the body, the limbs only are to be held hold of: nothing can be fixed: on the contrary, in a regular insurrection, like that of the United States, there was a head, and consequently something at a hold might be taken of; a certain object was countered, with which something certain could be settled. In Spanish America, on the contrary, the government is every where and no where: a population of volunteers in a general and irregular fermentation, leaves no room for the formation of any general lasting treaty, and with the little faith that is common to such treacherous people as the Spaniards, among whom superstition comes to the strengthening of a false conscience, not much dependence is to be placed in the stability of agreements, the observance of which is only secured by the presence of an army. That which has passed in America, and that which has taken place in Spain, are sufficient proofs of this. The same village, when some battalions were passing through it, took twice a day an oath which it forgot.

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ening; and in America the same towns have constantly throwing off their obedience and rejecting it. The Spaniard has this in common with the Arabs and the oriental nations, who never consider themselves bound by engagements that are entered into with those who are stronger than themselves.

We said above that Spain will not be able to govern her Colonies.

There are two ways of preserving Colonies; first for and then against others.

At the revolution Spain had kept in America a very small number of European regular troops; the defence of the country was confided to the militia.

It was calculated that these forces were sufficient to defend England, the only enemy that could attack Spain; of Spanish America; and, comparing their

with the number of troops which this power could devote to an attack upon it, there did not appear to be any need of greater precautions. The two expeditions against Buenos Ayres have proved the justice of this calculation; for this place has twice been saved by the population of the country. England was not able to attack the whole of the American continent; she would have bruised only herself by striking against such an immense mass: in many places it would be defended by its climate. Spain, secure from France by its family compact, fearing nothing yet from the United States, and still less from Portugal, who was situated too near her in Europe, not to keep on good terms with her in America, had calculated very well for the time to which this disposition of her forces refers: but now every thing is changed; it is no longer against England, or against a foreign enemy, that America must be defended: it is Spain that must be defended against America, and against those very persons to whom she had confided the care of defending her dominion. Thus, as we see, the scene is greatly changed. Spain must, accordingly, after having deprived the Americans of their arms, in the first place, no longer trust them with them: in the second place, keep them habitually under the guard of European troops. But, how would the small population of Spain be able to support such an armament, or to supply the recruits it would be continually requiring? What power in the world would garrison such a country as America; a garrison which must be increased in proportion as the population of the country increased? And supposing even that Spain had men sufficient, where would she find the funds which would be necessary to maintain them? For forces would be required in every part of

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ry, and in great numbers; if Spain does only
she does nothing; if a great deal, she is ruined.
Great part of the revenues of Mexico are con-
the militia of the country, what would not a
my cost, sent from an immense distance, and
ould have to be entirely maintained at the ex-
Spain? Thus it is very evident that Spain
possess any means of keeping her Americas
for herself; and she possesses no more means
ng them against foreigners.

has two enemies at her gate in America, the
ates and Brazil. The governments of these
are at peace with her it is true; but the very
their affairs is at variance as long as this si-
affairs lasts. If half of Europe belonged to
would not all the interests of the former,
all its actions tend towards putting an end
of things which would appear to it directly
nature? Well then, apply this to America:

favours; in one word, the Colonies would make as many demands as they have hitherto suffered neglect.

If monopoly is maintained, it leads to revolt and to independence, as the only means of getting free from this detested yoke.

Secondly, If the subjection of America is only partial, there is nothing done; the fire still burning in one place will break out in another, because the cause of the conflagration will not have ceased. The Colonist who will be still in arms will be the soldier of the disarmed Colonist; the latter, who will not have given up the desire of being free, will also wish that he who is free should remain so, as a model for him at present, and as his ally hereafter: his wishes and his heart must naturally accompany him; his hands will assist him according as opportunities shall offer. If then the submission of Spanish America is not simultaneous, the flame, which is not extinguished, will rekindle that which shall have been stopped: it will break out again the second time, as it did the first, owing to the conformity of generally and deeply felt interests. But it is impossible to conceive, that a country so large as Spanish America, that so vast a continent, the parts of which present the most marked contrasts and divisions, can be reduced at once, as though by the stroke of a magic wand, into a complete submission throughout every part; that Mexico, Peru, Chili, Paraguay, Terra Firma, and New Granada, will yield, at one and the same time, to Spain; especially when we consider that obstinacy forms the basis of the Spanish character.

The English had not the same inconveniences to encounter, in fighting against the United States and in

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ould not escape the clear sight of the Ameri-
st, that America is as much the natural pe-
e Americans as Europe is of the Europeans;
it is also as natural that America should be
by its own inhabitants as Europe by its own.
be very useless, not to say ridiculous, u
t a nation who have just been engaged in a
which has given freedom to a great part of
would be stopped by the consideration of
erty of sovereignty claimed by another Re-
ower. From the very circumstance of the
ving its seat in Europe, the Americans would
ling that it should have any in America. Let
ful not to mistake that which would excite
that which would restrain them; for man
not act in that manner.

y, The Americans cannot help looking
y part of America which is detached from
naturally added to the great American fe

in the evening; and in America the same tower has been constantly throwing off their obedience and returning to it. The Spaniard has this in common with the Africans and the oriental nations, who never consider themselves bound by engagements that are entered into with those who are stronger than themselves.

We have said above that Spain will not be able to preserve her Colonies.

There are two ways of preserving Colonies; first for oneself; and then against others.

Before the revolution Spain had kept in America but a very small number of European regular troops. The defence of the country was confided to the national troops.*

Spain calculated that these forces were sufficient against England, the only enemy that could attack any part of Spanish America; and, comparing them

* In 1804, Mexico contained, in troops of every kind, the following force:

Infantry of the line	5,200 men
Militia	11,060
Cavalry of the line	4,700
Militia	11,300

Total..... 32,260 men

Out of which the disciplined troops amounted

to 9,500

These troops cost, ... 20,000,000 francs.

At the present time a great part of these very troops are fighting against Spain.

We can form an idea of the regular troops and militia of the other parts of Spanish America by those which Mexico contains: they are in a great part, like those of Mexico, in opposition to Spain.

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They therefore have need of allies who have the same interests as themselves; and where can they find a better ally than in Spanish America? There only can be a nation sufficiently independent of England, in their geographical situation, as to have only their own interests to consult in the choice of their ally. We must say, that there is no longer any power in Europe in the vicinity of England, so well situated to strike both quick and sure. But in the case of the colonies, the case is quite different, here is a vast zone of independence formed against England, because it is out of the reach of her blows; she cannot blockade the coast of America like Brest and Cadiz. The union of this means of defence and counterpoise to England will be a powerful engine to the colonies in rendering general that independence which is already commenced in the continent of America; for the more this independence shall spread, the more it will furnish against their power.

ances but those which interest forms between states, and not between the chiefs of those states : the latter inevitably end by giving way to the former. This will be the case with the Sovereign of Brazil ; he will become a Sovereign of America, and a foreigner to Europe, and its adversary if necessary ; he will labour for independence with the same zeal as the United States, because he will have the same interest. Whoever sets foot in America becomes the defender of its independence against Europe.

Q. How will Spain, in the midst of these swarms of enemies to her power, and pressed on every side by contrary interests, so active and so powerful, be able to defend possessions weakened in so many different ways, and destitute of any equivalent means of preservation ? It is impossible to conceive what Spain can do to preserve herself at once against the continual tendency which the Colonies have to separate from her, and against the tendency which is inherent in the two neighbouring states to attack those Colonies and to bring them into a condition similar to their own, in order to unite them to the great American federation, of which they themselves form the first links. If a single free village in the American continent was sufficient to establish the liberty of America, as leaven causes fermentation in a great mass, with how much more reason ought not two great states to produce the same effect with more promptitude and certainty, whose very situation seems chosen for the purpose of effecting that end ? If the councils of Spain descended into the details of this important question with that accuracy which such great interests both inspire and demand, the striking considerations which it contains would, without doubt, induce them to look

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the affairs of America is a very different point of view from that in which they now see them, owing to the ideas of a time which no longer exists, and the thoughts of men who have passed away with it are now far distant from us.

It is, therefore, that Spain ought to ask of herself what it will be necessary to do when she can no longer conquer, and no longer keep what has been conquered; whether it would not be as well to make peace with those whom she can no longer have for subjects, and whether it is prudent to expose herself to the danger of being and of remaining excluded, for the purpose of wishing to exclude; but whether it would not be better to form the basis of a line of conduct towards the colonies upon such simple principles, to stretch out a friendly instead of an armed hand, and to pledge to substitute for a direct sovereignty, which is henceforth impossible, the dominion of princes.

will sometimes bring their parents before the courts of law, in order that they may be admitted to the enjoyment of those rights which nature or the laws assign to them. The quarrel is of a most singular nature.

On one side a state situated in Europe, and not occupying there a very large space, has the pretension to wish to retain under its dominion a whole entire continent, of which it would only form a province : that a part of one world should monopolize the whole of another, is in itself a thing sufficiently singular to be remarked, and to make a figure in the pleadings of this great suit. The right which was established at the period of the discovery of the Colonies had also regulated the right of property in these new lands : good order called for it, in order to lay down some rule between the people who flocked from every part of the world to the newly discovered countries, and who awarded every land to themselves which they had once touched. Centuries have confirmed Spain in her possession ; and for a long space of time America has known no other laws than those of Spain, no other agents than those whom Spain has sent, no legal supplies of commodities but those from Spain, no other vessels than the Spanish, and no warehouses to send her produce to but those in Spain ; it was for Spain that America worked her mines, and suffered wars, and that rise in the price of all articles of trade which was a necessary consequence of war and the want of industry in a seller who had an exclusive monopoly ; in one word, America being tied to Spain, like a child is to the apron strings of its mother, and being considered as a farm, the enjoyment of which would be endangered by too much prosperity, has hitherto existed only for Spain, and in subjection to Spain. But time, that

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of these personal calculations, and that in
y nothing in its course, the necessary atti-
which is to develop the buds that are contained
ture of things, has produced the same effect
it does every where else. America has been
under the wings or rather under the laws of
ut being strengthened by age, enlightened
ercourse with other nations, initiated into all
e of science and art, and participating in the
lse which has been given to the universe,
bitious to make use of her own strength, and,
rd, to exist for herself and by herself : thus
when he arrives at years of maturity. The
cing examples are before her eyes, and the
of Pennsylvania shows what is to be gained
ration from the mother country, even from
as the least oppressive and troublesome to her
for such was England. America reproaches
always stifling every seed of prosperity that

and which will be maintained against her. Thus America thrusts off Spain as her tyrant and as the contriver of all her sufferings, and breaks the yoke in order to escape from the disasters that accompany it. It is some time ago since commotions, the forerunners of this great rupture, had announced that kind of fermentation which precedes almost every revolution, like the roaring of the earth always precedes an earthquake, or an eruption of its hidden fire. America, in a body, has realised that which was attempted by a few individuals, and is now fighting to have it acknowledged. The contest rages over the whole of that vast continent: no part is exempt from it. The inhabitants are fighting and exterminating each other, from the Straits of Magellan to California; it is the greatest civil war that mankind has yet had to weep for: America seems to have been destined to be laid waste from century to century by the natives of Europe, ambitious to rule over it; and that which aggravates the evil is, that not only the Colony is fighting against the soldiers of the mother country, but that the different parts of its population are also exterminating each other, according to the different degrees of colour and of attachment or aversion to Spain: the cruel consequence of the present which Spain made to that country, of mingling her blood with that of the subjects of the Incas and of the descendants of the Sun! Thus is blood streaming over the country, drawn by the ferocious hands of men, who, from the very commencement of the war, have bid adieu to humanity, and look upon the man they are fighting with in no other light than as an object to exterminate; for look at the manner in which the Spaniards, on all sides and in both hemispheres, consider and treat every one that is

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to them : so greatly does the savage nature of
n enter into the Spanish character ! A cruel
every where else would be revolting, is their
means of reducing insurgents, and all most
are not for them and with them.*

the weight of the terrible war is supported
continent, yet the seas are also disturbed by it:
of pirates have issued from every port in
who have begun their career upon the ocean
ding the ports of Spain, and by returning to
t of the evil which she is doing to their

d be foolish to pretend to judge of what will
e of this quarrel from the events that have
or the parties that are engaged in it at this
me; they might as well have attempted to judge
e of the reformation from the first battles
fought between Charles V and the Elector

themselves are not often changed before they become definitively fixed. Men and particular events are not to be considered in this vast question ; it is of little importance whether the Spaniards or their enemies obtain a small success in certain places, that, in comparison with America, are only what a single district would be to France.. Besides, these particular facts are susceptible of a thousand extenuations and interpretations, which give them an intrinsic consequence entirely different from the appearance they present. All that we know of America is reduced to this one fact, which cannot be weakened by a contrariety of reports, dictated by opposite interests ; and this is, that America is so impregnated with the principles of independence, and so ready and resolved to maintain them, that her ancient connexions with Spain are changed, and that the contest occasioned by the necessary consequence of this change affects all the European powers and the commercial system of the whole world. It is to this general view that we must confine ourselves, omitting the details which are not even shadows upon this vast picture. The facts decide the first part of this question ; their number and weight, and the extent which they embrace, leave nothing to be wished for, and it is beyond all doubt, that if America was at liberty to follow her own inclination, from Mexico to Cape Horn, she would burst the Spanish bonds. But there, as elsewhere, the agents of government, armed with power, and supported by their partisans, especially by the clergy, make every effort to stop a movement which affects their private interests : but, nevertheless, in some parts, independence is already unanimously declared, as at Buenos Ayres, where it has taken all the forms of a

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government. The first point in this question is no longer doubtful: America bears quite the same respect with regard to Spain, and, whatever the result, even if Spain shall prevail, this change will remain. For even supposing that Spain should obtain the victory, it will never be more than a temporary success: we may rely upon the very nature of the contest that, and we shall not be deceived; we may be sure that the events which are now passing among the colonies will be renewed again and again, until the end of their present insurrection shall be accomplished. What an immense difference there is between the colonies receiving the orders and the agents of Spain, and the colonies rendering the greatest submission and homage, and America, sitting in so many places, deliberating upon the expulsion of the Spaniards, and upon the form of government to be adopted by themselves! Is the difference too great and too extensive not to leave indelible traces? What has been

Spain will give them new force by her ill usage and by the rigour of her exclusive trade; and these are precisely the causes which have forced America to take up arms.

On the other hand, America will be situated between the United States and Brazil, whose independence, being attended with so much prosperity, will be incessantly exciting her to meliorate her own condition; which she will do by following their example. Thus America has such a tendency towards independence, which nothing henceforth will be able to divert, that she will be incessantly renewing the contest with her mother country, as well as the disorders and troubles which result to Europe in general, from the continuance of this conflict.

We must thoroughly understand and never lose from our sight, that the question before us is relative to a state of perpetual troubles to Europe as well as to America.

When the cabinet of Versailles deliberated upon what part they should take in the American war, it was very evident that the secret and real motive of their determination was not owned to the public, and perhaps not to themselves. There was less question of justice than of policy, and the opportunity of avenging the affronts which England had made them submit to by the peace of 1763, was the principal motive of their decision.

Considering only the principles of right, France had nothing to do with a quarrel, the consequences of which would not affect her. It was the same with Spain: she interfered in a quarrel that she had nothing to do with, and by supporting the independence of the northern part of America she paved the way for

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dependence of the southern part, and afforded
to the inhabitants of the former for the an
they should give to the latter; an equitable re
which she was not aware of at the time: to
instance do the consequences of injustice ex
at this period the genius of Europe was w
from the right path, and from the time of the
of Poland, policy subsisted by iniquity; and
of Machiavel seemed to have become that
of nations in this quarter of the globe.

es of morality were never pretended to be observed very
politics; but they appear to have been disregarded with
n to appearances since the war of 1740. It is from that
scenes in Poland that we may date that right of con
which Europe seems to have submitted to for this last
When Charles VI succeeded to the throne an opportu
ered for speculations upon the property of his neigh
undisputable inheritance of Maria Louisa was divided
estate. The "Works of Frederick the Great" will

States are similar to private individuals ; their rights and their duties are the same. Whenever any action has no connection with a third person, and cannot affect him, he has no right to take cognizance of it ; he acquires a right of interfering in it only when proximity or communication threaten him with any detriment. He then becomes a party interested in the cause, but that only on his own account, because it is right that he should watch over every thing which can injure him. So that, as the war between England and America was a family quarrel, France and Spain in no way had any right to take part in it : the degree of welfare that the United States were to enjoy from their connections with their mother country was neither under their care nor jurisdiction. The interests of the two first-mentioned countries had not the least neces-

and he gave notice to the peaceful Crescent to quit Europe ; for what other name can we give to the conduct they pursued for ten years against the quiet sultans, whom they attacked as was convenient to themselves, only because they thought them asleep and incapable of rousing themselves ? This scandalous system was completed by the protracted sufferings of Poland. The correspondence of Frederick and Prince Kaunitz can be consulted : they have the appearance of two persons playing at chess, who are completely occupied with endeavouring to steal a move, and to cheat each other of their pieces. See also the correspondence of the Count de Broglie, and the double diplomacy established by Louis XV under the direction of the Prince of Conti, which was managed by the Count of Broglie, and followed by Favier and Dumouriez. See also what is said by Burke in his " Letters upon the French Revolution."

In politics and public morality, as is the case in the atmosphere, corruption comes from above.

Numbers of people who are very well meaning, but very weak in their intellects, pass the time in lamenting the depravity of the age, and reproaching it with the wickedness into which they say it is fallen ; simple fools ! who only see the effects, without ever going back to the causes !

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ection with those of the United States, are liable to be affected, in parts that were when established, by the issue of the contest between the Colony and the mother country. It might be advantageous to their political interests, that they should be weakened by the separation of the parts. But political expediency does not constitute justice. If this was the case, the world would float on a sea of uncertainty. That certain rule, that sure guide, acknowledged by all, and equally beneficial to all, I mean

There is a great difference between that case and the situation of Spanish America: she is connected with Europe, and Europe with her, by the most intimate bonds, those of riches, the very soul of the societies. The general impulse which was given to the commerce of the whole world by the discovery of the Colonies had the effect of causing a

gold and silver of America: her manufactories, agriculture, vessels, and population, and that impulse which has been given to commerce by the relations formed between all the inhabited parts of the world, have been founded and built upon the productions of America. It is an immense machine, depending upon an infinite number of springs, and we cannot stop its motion without striking at the root of a multitude of existing interests. In this case a fact becomes a right, and consequences become principles, as happens in society, where things that are permitted by it, and even sometimes those that are done without its permission, become rights equivalent to natural rights: we here go back to the first right, and the one which has precedence of all others, that of self-preservation. Spanish America belongs to Spain: very true; but the necessary effects of Spanish America, and the consequences which result from them, concern the whole world.

Spain is the conduit, the channel, and, if we might use the expression, the aqueduct of the gold of America, to every part of Europe and of the world. There is not one of its inhabitants, not one of its commercial relations, not one of its revenues, either private or public, which is not affected by every thing that passes in America. The condition of every state and of every individual was changed by the discovery of America, and by the riches with which it inundated Europe: we have continued in this state of things; we have calculated and established every thing upon the idea of its continuing and spreading: it is impossible to turn to another system, without every body being injured, and therefore having a right to look to the cause of the injury. This arises from the nature of the produce of America; it is of a particular kind. When

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contain no productions but those which we
come, or can procure elsewhere, what right
to interfere in their affairs? It is for this
that the French and Spanish governments were
when they took a part in the American
the mother country had kept every thing to
withdrawn every thing from them which
they contained, their interests would not have
any injury; but that is not the case with
America: no other country can supply that
productions, which are the soul of the tran-
sactions of the whole world: whatever affects them
is within its jurisdiction, if not immediately, at least
on account of the injury which it receives,
it frequently has a very good right to prevent. If
it were to forbid the working of the mines, or the
export of their produce into Europe; in one word,
it were to put America out of existence, so far as

for want of receiving the indemnification upon which she reckoned when she commenced them? Will she condemn all her inhabitants, that multitude of men, employed in every kind of industry, to change or to lose their habitual mode of existence and support?

Thus there is an intimate connexion between the condition of Europe and that of America: the latter is joined to the former by a chain of gold, like that by which the poets, in their brilliant fictions, have joined the earth to the vaulted heavens, which, if it broke, would precipitate the world. This question is much more extensive than it appears to be at the first glance: it does not only relate to Spain, and her rights of sovereignty, but also to the interests of the whole world. How can we think otherwise, when we turn our attention to that immense trade which Europe carries on with America, and America with Europe? We must reckon the sums by hundreds of millions, and the men that are employed in it by millions. But, for some time, the coiners in the mint of Mexico have been idle and unemployed, for want of the metal which required their activity. A base copper, unknown to those opulent miners, has dared to make its appearance there, preceded by distress, and emboldened by the absence of gold and silver. Mexico, in astonishment, has seen a coinage of copper; a general stagnation; a universal drought proclaims the evils of a war destructive to property, and exterminating to mankind. Wherever the sceptre of Spain has re-appeared, the system of exclusion follows in its train; every European is expelled, proscribed; his person is exposed to danger, his property to rapacity and to plunder; security and confidence are at an end. England has already been obliged to turn her thoughts to the adoption of measures, calcu-

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the preservation of her commerce, established on a large scale, in the agitated parts of America, whose interests in this conflict are incompatible with the peace and stability indispensable to commerce; the existence of England depends on her commerce; her agriculture and her population are supported by it: the commercial branch there constitutes the public guide and oracle of the government. This government only acknowledges that the trade with South America amounted annually to upwards of two hundred millions of francs.

Does England necessarily become a party in the country's quarrel, not from the principle, but from the consequences belonging to it, by which she finds herself affected. If Spain conquers, England must see her commerce to be excluded. But how can she consent to renounce so great a pecuniary advantage which she must add to the distress already

sary connection with those of the United States, or were they liable to be affected, in parts that were sensible, or then established, by the issue of the contest between the Colony and the mother country. It might perhaps be advantageous to their political interests, that England should be weakened by the separation of the Colony; but political expediency does not constitute a right; if this was the case, the world would float without that certain rule, that sure guide, acknowledged by all, and equally beneficial to all, I mean justice.

But there is a great difference between that case and the present situation of Spanish America: she is connected with Europe, and Europe with her, by the most necessary bonds, those of riches, the very soul of modern societies. The general impulse which was given to the commerce of the whole world by the discovery of the Colonies had the effect of causing a stream of gold and silver to flow from the bowels of America towards Europe, from whence it passes on, and is lost or swallowed up in Asia, and never shows itself again to the places whence it took its source, or through which it passed. We must follow this movement in the affairs of commerce, in order to form a just idea of the connexion that Europe, and the rest of the world have with Spanish America: it is America that pays for every thing in the four quarters of the globe. Every thing throughout the world depends upon this periodical influx, as in some countries every harvest depends upon the regular overflowing of their rivers. The mines of Spanish America are to Europe what the Nile is to Egypt. For three hundred years Europe has thrived from these regular irrigations; she has increased in prosperity from the harvests of the

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the less: Europe then rears by every loss America suffers, and when she shall have called her men, already so thinly scattered within her boundary, what will Europe have to give up to her? Does Europe withhold her aid, until she has witnessed the last moment of the last American, and the destruction of the last American? To these considerations, founded, so express myself, on the *material* interests, an enlightened forethought will add others, from a higher ground, and equally to be found in the nature of things.

Spain is divided between two contending camps, the monarchists and the republicans. The independent Cortes formed itself in Congress, which certainly bore witness to the advancement of royalty in general, and of Spain in particular. Republican ideas were strengthened by the merely being opposed to

probability of being banished from the soil of America, as the tyrants formerly caused its annihilation all over Greece. The King of Brazil has been the preserver of royalty in his own territory, and if it maintains one point of support, it is to him that it will be owing. Without him, Brazil must have followed the torrent by which that country has been surrounded.

The Catholic religion governs in America with the same plenitude as in Spain : it admits no more modification in the one country than in the other. In America, as every where else, the Clergy have shown themselves decidedly opposed to liberty. The mere name of liberty has the power of striking them with terror. The Clergy employ all their weight to support the empire of Spain, and that perhaps from a secret instinct, for which they themselves cannot account.

If Spain fall, may not the republican spirit, suspicious of the supporters of Spain, (as it always happens with regard to those who have espoused the opposite interest), and irritated against Rome and her thunders, be disposed to adopt measures dictated by forecast, and recommended by the example offered in other parts, against a persuasion whose ministers have been so long mistrusted? When we examine the perplexities which the Catholic Clergy never fail to introduce into civil affairs; when we see Ireland, for ages, disunited from England through the ministers of the worship preponderating in that country; when we contemplate the intrigues with which the Belgian Clergy have begun with regard to the government, and saluted the infant throne of the Netherlands, we may well be allowed to anticipate that America will adopt powerful measures to protect herself from similar in-

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ces. Those who have sacrificed so much to the yoke of Spain may well be expected to free themselves from the power of Rome. When the Republics of Mexico, of Paraguay, shall have to act from such a distance the ministers of their religion, when the preservation and interests of that religion are to be discussed at such a distance, the influence of an establishment, containing in itself so many difficulties, becomes extremely precarious. . . . Considerations which involve such interests as the maintenance of Catholicism and royalty in a whole country might surely to weigh as heavy in the councils as ingots of gold and silver. No less is at stake in the two most important relations which exist among men, and whose influence on existing institutions is such as to subject it to all the changes they may undergo.

Important considerations would have concluded this article, but the cause of humanity de-

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Good, should say, " Cruel Spain! did Heaven
only for your use? happy and tranquil during
which preceded the hour when the hand of
Columbus drew aside the veil, which from the
of the globe had concealed me from your
as by the blood and the tears shed at your
reach that I learned to know you. Scarcely
landed on my shores, when your soldiers
on my children unknown fires which de-
them; your couriers rushed on them and
them under foot. You destroyed my thrones
ancient altars, raised by my gratitude to that
e rays fertilise my soil, give the brightest
my flowers and my fruits, to the inhabitants of
s and my vast plains, and ripen the juices of
The sap of my plants give you health,
s of my mountains afford you riches, and
th alone, has been to me the minister of your

affords th Europe then recedes by every loss which America suffers, and when she shall have exhausted all her men, already so thinly scattered within her vast boundary, what will Europe have to give up or to receive from her? Does Europe withhold her interference, until she has witnessed the last moment of the last American, a destruction of the last town of America? To these considerations, founded, if I may so express myself, on the *material* interests of Europe, an enlightened forethought will add others, drawn from a higher ground, and equally to be found in the nature of things.

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On the contrary, if America conquer, as there is every reason to believe she will, and as she herself promises by the mere prolongation of the contest, we behold her, with the exception of the Brazils, a republican state, exposed to the view of Europe, which is entirely royalist. What effects may not such a contemplation produce, particularly when prosperity and happiness appear to follow on the one side, and misery to be the result of the other? The Spaniards, by their system of war and extermination, expose royalty to the

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the value of the produce to which he has
those isles. In the same manner do you for-
to be fruitful with me. You have forbid-
olive to pour her oil into my hands, the
tree to nourish the insect whose industry pro-
clothing; the vine to carpet my hills and
my thirst. For Spain to be cultivated, Ame-
to be sterile; to enrich your merchants,
must be deprived of her cultivators. All
mitted to me, is to produce gold for your use;
communication with other parts of the world
en me; and if I am discovered to all the rest
iverse, the rest of the universe is still undis-
me. In vain do the useful or the ornamenta-
cts of its industry appear at my ports;
can induce you to open them but the want of
earness of your own manufactures. My rivers
orts are capable of containing all the vessels
orld, but your iron laws impose on them a

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probability of being banished from the soil of America, as the tyrants formerly caused its annihilation all over Greece. The King of Brazil has been the preserver of royalty in his own territory, and if it maintains one point of support, it is to him that it will be owing. Without him, Brazil must have followed the torrent by which that country has been surrounded.

The Catholic religion governs in America with the same plenitude as in Spain: it admits no more modification in the one country than in the other. In America, as every where else, the Clergy have shown themselves decidedly opposed to liberty. The mere name of liberty has the power of striking them with terror. The Clergy employ all their weight to support the empire of Spain, and that perhaps from a secret instinct, for which they themselves cannot account.

If Spain fall, may not the republican spirit, suspicious of the supporters of Spain, (as it always happens with regard to those who have espoused the opposite interest), and irritated against Rome and her thunders, be disposed to adopt measures dictated by forecast, and recommended by the example offered in other parts, against a persuasion whose ministers have been so long mistrusted? When we examine the perplexities which the Catholic Clergy never fail to introduce into civil affairs; when we see Ireland, for ages, disunited from England through the ministers of the worship preponderating in that country; when we contemplate the intrigues with which the Belgian Clergy have begun with regard to the government, and saluted the infant throne of the Netherlands, we may well be allowed to anticipate that America will adopt powerful measures to protect herself from similar in-

affords the less. Europe then recedes by every loss which America suffers, and when she shall have exhausted all her men, already so thinly scattered within her vast boundary, what will Europe have to give up or to receive from her? Does Europe withhold her interference, until she has witnessed the last moment of the last American, and the destruction of the last town of America? To these considerations, founded, if I may so express myself, on the *material* interests of Europe, an enlightened forethought will add others, drawn from a higher ground, and equally to be found in the nature of things.

America is divided between two contending camps, the royalists and the republicans. The independent party has formed itself in Congress, which certainly aims no more at the advancement of royalty in general than that of Spain in particular. Republican ideas become strengthened by the merely being opposed to the royalists, and those ideas constitute the opinion of a large part of the population of America: supposing even that this latter be crushed in the struggle, her fall would not extinguish those ideas in minds soured by misfortune, and whose principal characteristic is tenacity.

On the contrary, if America conquer, as there is every reason to believe she will, and as she herself promises by the mere prolongation of the contest, we behold her, with the exception of the Brazils, a republican state, exposed to the view of Europe, which is entirely royalist. What effects may not such a contemplation produce, particularly when prosperity and happiness appear to follow on the one side, and misery to be the result of the other? The Spaniards, by their system of war and extermination, expose royalty to the

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contrary was the case, you would consummate
own bosom the depopulation and ruin which
ready once been accused with having been the

Pursue that enlightened course which will
both to happiness; let us put an end to this
us contest which is spilling that blood which
call forth the most tender feelings; let us
the peaceable and useful contests of indus-
labour, and of commerce; let us try which
the superiority, the youth of America, or
rity of Spain: do you work your fields, I
my mines, and draw from them the gold
all pay for your harvests; recall the industry
s been banished from your manufactories; I
ng for their productions upon heaps of riches.
every thing which you want, but it is not by
d that you will be able to obtain it; know
re has awarded it to industry and to labour:
e new law of the universe, and it will not be

CHAP. XXIII.

Influence of the state of the Colonies upon the Navies of Europe.

THE sea is the element which is common to every nation, the road which lies open for that intercourse which is necessary for all. Vessels of war, the protectors of vessels of trade, are the means by which this intercourse is preserved. The sea cannot, any more than the continent, be under an universal and exclusive dominion. From hence arise alliances between maritime powers to defend the liberty of the seas, in the same manner as continental alliances for the liberty of the continent. The same necessity must always dictate the same measures. During the reign of Louis XIV, the time of the creation of the European navies, four countries possessed great navies, England, France, Spain, and Holland. We have seen them alternately fighting with each other, and as is generally the case in the commencement of any establishment, with a success sufficiently equal to keep up some equilibrium, and consequently some liberty. Holland was not afraid to enter the lists with England and France united. De Witt, Van Tromp, and Ruyters, braved the English admirals, and pursued them even in the Thames. The policy of King William united, for a long while, the two rival flags. He joined Spain to the association, so that France had

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at once, with three naval powers, and was in the midst of them. Tourville and Duquesne, Jean Bart, and, in latter times, Duguay gave a lustre to the French navy, and sustained its decline, which was brought on by the battle of La Hogue, and by the war about the Spanish Succession. From that period the maritime power of France was divided into two parts, England on one side, France and Spain on the other. In the two wars of 1740 and of 1756, the French navy, notwithstanding the co-operation of the Spaniards, was not able to defend the colonial possessions of France. In the American war, the two navies, although reinforced by the Dutch, whom a wise policy had succeeded in liberating from their ancient subjection to England, were scarcely able to counterbalance the English. They were not able to wash off the affront of the 4th of April, nor to close the Straits of Gibraltar, nor even to touch the English soil. They

affords the less. Europe then recedes by every loss which America suffers, and when she shall have exhausted all her men, already so thinly scattered within her vast boundary, what will Europe have to give up or to receive from her? Does Europe withhold her interference, until she has witnessed the last moment of the last American, and the destruction of the last town of America? To these considerations, founded, if I may so express myself, on the *material* interests of Europe, an enlightened forethought will add others, drawn from a higher ground, and equally to be found in the nature of things.

America is divided between two contending camps, the royalists and the republicans. The independent party has formed itself in Congress, which certainly aims no more at the advancement of royalty in general than that of Spain in particular. Republican ideas become strengthened by the merely being opposed to the royalists, and those ideas constitute the opinion of a large part of the population of America: supposing even that this latter be crushed in the struggle, her fall would not extinguish those ideas in minds scorred by misfortune, and whose principal characteristic is tenacity.

On the contrary, if America conquer, as there is every reason to believe she will, and as she herself promises by the mere prolongation of the contest, we behold her, with the exception of the Brazils, a republican state, exposed to the view of Europe, which is entirely royalist. What effects may not such a contemplation produce, particularly when prosperity and happiness appear to follow on the one side, and misery to be the result of the other? The Spaniards, by their system of war and extermination, expose royalty to the

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those powers; provided that lastly they are
Spain, slow in her preparations, and tardy
steps, will always be an embarrassment rather
assistance. It is with the greatest difficulty
keeps up with her allies. There is but one
dependent of England, and that is Russia;
and is obliged to keep upon good terms with
the sake of her trade. But the power of
tends no further. Let her rule and domi-
the Baltic: but how can she get out of it?
does not belong to her: and where does she
senals or harbours upon the ocean? Russia
fleets only upon two seas, which she is not
o beyond, being stopped on the south by
anelles, and on the north by the Sound.
Cape of Good Hope, at Ceylon, at Trinidad,
los, and at Halifax, the English are in the
tion with regard to the Colonies as they are
and, at Gibraltar, and at Malta, with regard

a complete absurdity. In fact, what other name can we give to an expense which is of no utility, either in attack or defence; and which, in plain truth, is of no advantage but to the enemy? For this is the only end all the navies of Europe now tend to. Europe must not look at home for the means of obtaining maritime freedom, she cannot rest the lever firmly here, which will raise the burthen that is crushing her: it must be rested upon America. From henceforth her liberation must originate there. We have just had a proof of this in the war which the United States have been waging against England: they have tormented England more than all the navies of Europe united together have done. The reason of this is very simple; it is the distance of America. England at such a distance from the seat of empire, lost part of the advantages which render her so formidable in Europe; consequently the greater number of states that are in America similar to the United States, the greater number of allies will there be for Europe: for all these states being, like the United States, in their very nature maritime, and possessing an infinite number of ports and rivers inviting navigation and commerce, will have the greatest interest in the liberty of the seas; and in forming an alliance between the weaker maritime powers against the stronger, who are the natural oppressors of the former; consequently every standard of liberty planted in America will cover the seas of Europe with a tutelary shade. Let us suppose some free states in America, like those of Brazil, the United States, and Mexico; and on the other side of that Continent, Peru and Chili, to be in that state of freedom which they must arrive at sooner or later. Is

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plain that in them are raised up as many ships and, as many fleets, and as many arsenals as in the United States, and all of them at the service of Europe against the common enemy, mistress of the sea, whatever name she bears! Being mistress, she is an enemy to all who are not her friends, and all are equally enemies to her. It is not plain, that a general contest for the empire of the sea will arise with the means of carrying it, a contest which, in this case, could not have its effect, favoured as it would be by the arms of the nations who would take part in it, while it is possible that Europe alone should institute such a contest, on account of its position and its proximity to America? She is an enemy whom we cannot affront without having drawn her far from home, and forced her to exert her strength. When England shall have to contend at once both the whole of Europe and the whole of America, that blockade, instead of being an

which is not destined to be led in triumph to London,* a week after it shall have dared to put to sea: without the independence of the Colonies, all the ships of war in Europe will either be taken, or will rot in port: such is the decree of fate of which England is the minister.

The chief error in the policy of Napoleon was this; he wished to render the seas free by means of Europe, while it was only by means of America that it could be done: he turned his back upon the object he aimed at when he went to seek for it in Russia, where it certainly was never to be found. Such is still the error of Spain: she does not perceive that by labouring to re-establish the dependence of America, she is only confirming her own dependence upon England, who will thus be enabled to turn all the force against her, which would otherwise be required against America.

France is not acting more wisely, by not endeavouring to render the future less servile than the state which she has fallen into.

A proposition so novel as that which has just been

* During the nineteen years of war between France and England, from 1793 to 1814, and which were interrupted only by the two years of truce, called the peace of Amiens, England took or destroyed, from the different navies which she had to engage with,

Ships of the line 97

Frigates and other smaller vessels, more than 200

The fleet which carried the army to Egypt was entirely destroyed; two ships escaped from the battle, but were taken in single engagements: never was any overthrow more complete.

The vessels which escaped from Trafalgar experienced the same fate on the coasts of France.

May these deplorable examples serve as lessons to us, and be of some use in the calculations on which we form our plans.

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not fail to excite much outcry: the thing is foreseen, and easier to be explained, owing to the interests which it affects. But what is the outcry about? It is precisely because this truth is not necessary to make it known. We will, therefore, pursue our course, and apply these principles to the colonies. We ask of what use is her navy in the protection of things. There are two objects in a navy, according to the policy; that is, riches and power. We use our trade with ships of war; with them we defend, drive away, or humble our enemy. The question, therefore, is to judge of the interest which is in keeping up a naval force, and to examine whether this force accomplishes its double purpose. The naval force of France is not able to protect her colonies; for, to do that, in the first place, she must have a larger navy; and hers is so small, that it would not pay for the expense of its protection. Besides, in time of peace, merchant vessels can sail by themselves: it is

drop of blood, should say, " Cruel Spain! did Heaven form me only for your use? happy and tranquil during the ages which preceded the hour when the hand of your Columbus drew aside the veil, which from the formation of the globe had concealed me from your view, it was by the blood and the tears shed at your first approach that I learned to know you. Scarcely were you landed on my shores, when your soldiers showered on my children unknown fires which destroyed them; your coursers rushed on them and trampled them under foot. You destroyed my thrones and those ancient altars, raised by my gratitude to that star whose rays fertilise my soil, give the brightest colours to my flowers and my fruits, to the inhabitants of my forests and my vast plains, and ripen the juices of my herbs. The sap of my plants give you health, the entrails of my mountains afford you riches, and death, death alone, has been to me the minister of your gratitude.

" Since the moment when the last of my Incas was laid upon the pile, since you have transported into another hemisphere the race which occupied my Mexican throne, have you ever ceased accumulating on my head outrage and ruin? You are received on my territory and you already declare me a slave; and, to give you the right to subject me, you place all my children far from you, in the last rank of human beings. The interposition of Rome was necessary to make you recognise them even as human beings; on that occasion your obedience to her laws was without reproach; then did you confide to chains and to the sword the charge of filling up the distance you had placed between them and you. Without doubt, beings so in-

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ponderance of power that England possesses is beyond all comparison with any other nation. The difference is not to be found between man and man, but between state and state. Therefore, things are in a situation which can be broken nor contested, all naval preparations of France are useless to her commerce, of no use in the defence of the land, and fatal to her by offering a weak side that an enemy can take advantage of. When France shall no longer launch her squadrons upon the seas, England will be deprived of the principal subject of her triumphs. By giving up her own navy she will, in some measure, render herself defenceless to England; for what use will it be of when she is unable to fight with? The English vessels will be able to conquer the provinces of France; and if they will succeed as well after the French fleet have been beaten, sunk, or taken into captivity, as they would have done without their

and lower the value of the produce to which he has limited those isles. In the same manner do you forbid nature to be fruitful with me. You have forbidden the olive to pour her oil into my hands, the mulberry-tree to nourish the insect whose industry provided my clothing; the vine to carpet my hills and to allay my thirst. For ^{to} ~~in~~ vain to be cultivated, America must be sterile; to enrich your merchants, America must be deprived of her cultivators. All that is permitted to me, is to produce gold for your use; all other communication with other parts of the world is forbidden me; and if I am discovered to all the rest of the universe, the rest of the universe is still undiscovered to me. In vain do the useful or the ornamental products of its industry appear at my ports; nothing can induce you to open them but the want of skill or dearness of your own manufactures. My rivers and my ports are capable of containing all the vessels of the world, but your iron laws impose on them a solitude which is interrupted only at remote distances by the trifling missions which intrigue and the avarice of your treasury allow.

“ By whom do you cause me to be governed ? By strangers. By whom will they be succeeded ? By other strangers. Happy if this reproach be the only one which their career gives me the right of applying to them, and if they do not consider their situation as the means of arriving rapidly and easily at fortune.*

* It is plain that this can only be spoken in a general sense, and that the reproach applies only to the subaltern agents. Disinterestedness forms one of the principal traits in the Spanish character, especially in the higher ranks : and great places and employments were very often with them rather the means of diminishing than of increasing their fortune.

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peace by the years of war, and the balance them is nearly equal.* Moreover, we must know that the greater part of the supplies of the navy coming from abroad, are the means of greater money going out of France than the accoutrements of regular troops are, the things necessary for the navy existing in the greatest abundance in the interior.

So that the naval wars of France were times of ruin for the North, which is the source from whence her supplies come, as well as to the United States, and all colonial wars, will necessarily supply both the colonies and their defenders. It follows from this that the French navy is at once both ruinous and victorious, which is too much by half; and that she is too expensive to use to France, and yet impoverishes her, consequently can only be maintained for two purposes: first, that which is the subject of this chapter, in competition with the navies of America and Europe; secondly, for the sake of custom, which gives her a

art of verifying dates is very essential in the art of governing.

We feel how hard it is to offer such advice to the founders and owners of such establishments as Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort; and how difficult it is to give up that which has cost us so dear, and is honourable from its grandeur, and in which the twilight of glory is still sparkling. Alas! we feel it; but the interests of the nation are not to be estimated by remembrances, and by regrets, but by calculations which reason makes, by taking times and circumstances as their foundation. Because an establishment is grand, must we ruin ourselves to maintain it, when it has ceased to be useful? Will states subsist upon ruins, and nations upon monuments? Must certain establishments be destined to ruin us in maintaining them, after having ruined us in the building? Much better would it have been never to have had them. The French naval establishments resemble Versailles, the building of which has ruined France, the rebuilding of which has threatened to ruin her again, and which will still more certainly ruin her if it is ever inhabited; for all the other expenses must be upon the scale of this gigantic palace. We do not see what advantage France has, or can derive, from the navy, by itself: we know very well what England has derived from it—the empire of the world, which is never purchased too dearly. But we discover a certain and immense utility in the French navy, if we connect it with the system of the independence of the Colonies, a system which will give to all the navies in Europe the most powerful allies, who will free them from the supremacy of England, from which they are unable to deliver themselves. To see Europe relieved from a blockade by the means of Ame-

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certainly be a strange sight; but, at the present, Buenos Ayres completely blockades Callao in the state in which things are now situated. Naval superiority, and by the superiority in possessions which England enjoys, it is very probable that Europe can never be emancipated, in a point of view, except by the emancipation of America from thence will issue legions in defence of the liberties of Europe, in order to defend the liberty of America itself; so much are they both connected; if England continues to keep Europe in a naval bondage, by so doing she will enslave America. If, on the contrary, America is emancipated, such an invincible force will be formed as will give freedom to both hemispheres. We most certainly shall not see the United States second the English navy: when they possess fifty ships of the line they will be the service of all the maritime powers of Europe: there is a natural alliance between them: there is no

tural auxiliaries of Europe, whose existence will put in action the forces of Europe, and the want of which will leave her in her present state of inactivity.

In the first of these two cases, to resume this argument, Europe can and must pay attention to her navy; in the second case, she must renounce it, if she thinks it better to save her money than to spend it in preparing new trophies for England, and in receiving from that country wounds which will not even leave her the satisfaction of imprinting a scar on any of the limbs of her all powerful enemy.

CHAP. XXIV.

What ought those Powers that are inferior in Naval Force to do for their Colonies?

NOTHING: this answer is written in the comparative table of the means of attack and of defence, which threaten or protect these establishments. Let us go back to the principles of the colonial system, relative to the defence of the Colonies. By what means are they to be defended? By the navy, or by the army? By vessels bringing reinforcements to the troops charged with the defence, or by troops deprived of these reinforcements for want of vessels which could keep up a communication with the mother country? Places which are proof against cannon are not proof against a blockade, which they cannot raise: in time they must fall. This is the case with the Colonies:

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may be the strength of their batteries, or the
and the bravery of their defenders, of what at
re they without a communication always open
mother country? Were there even such for
Luxemburgh, Mantua, and Gibraltar in the
they would fall, if they were to receive no sup
if they were no longer able to drive away the
so surrounds them, under the safeguard of their
ould not the loss of the Colony be, in this case
; and would not the ramparts, intended to keep
emy, become, when they were taken, the means
hening him in his conquest? Thus, when the
in the wars of 1756 and of 1793 to 1814,
mselves masters of Martinico, the skill of the
who had fortified it, and the courage of the
who defended it, were insufficient to preserve
n enemy, who, being protected by his naval
y, could neither be disturbed in his attack
s possession. At every period, the French

Colony may change its master without suffering from the presence of an enemy, who occupies it without striking a blow; but, when fighting becomes necessary; when cities are besieged, bombarded, or burnt, then the scene changes, and evils come in crowds. The Colony undergoes, nevertheless, the fate which was reserved for it; the mother country is also suffered to sustain its part of the evil, and yet the Colony is lost.

Let us return to the examples cited above. The English attack islands without defence; they possess them without a battle. The master is changed, but nobody suffers. At Martinico, at the Havannah, there have been sieges; then cities are laid in ashes, plantations ravaged, the arsenals formed by the mother country come under the power of the enemy, and the ramparts, which she had erected, are applied to oppose and to exclude her own troops. In peace, it is necessary to redeem them, at the price of the conquests which have been made, or to be humbled to regain them. Such, in two words, is the history of all colonial fortresses, raised at enormous expense, and unsupported by a maritime force. In this case, what is the true interest of mother countries unpossessed of such forces? Is it to continue to maintain, at a great cost, during peace, fortifications which cannot defend them in war, and whence it would be necessary to remove an enemy; to form arsenals, which at last will fall into his hands; to keep up troops, destined either to be annihilated, or made captives? For the forces of the Colonies have never finished otherwise. At Pondicherry, at the Isle of France, at Martinico, in Canada, have the French troops, deprived of naval aid, ever experienced any other fate? Have Dupleix, Bussy, or

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obtained any other result of their brave efforts? The commanders and the soldiers were weary of each other; but what availed either their courage or their talents, far from a mother country, separated from them, could give them only consolation and her regret?

Si Pergama dextrâ

Defendi possent, etiam hæc defensa fuissent.

These misfortunes, then, operate as a warning; the results so uniform, in experiments made on a large scale, we may see the principle of conduct adopted in the Colonies, when they are deprived of the aid of a marine force.

It confines itself to this: 1. All the useless military establishments ought to cease.

2. Only such a number of troops ought to be maintained as are necessary to preserve the internal tran-

they are reduced to simple factories: in time of war they belong of right to the enemy: in time of peace, their fortifications are useless: why then should the expense be suffered? When an enemy cannot fix himself in places, which seem to have been fortified only for him, he can be driven out more easily. The Colony will not have built for him; it will not have collected provisions for him: it will not suffer by a war without object; and, when things subside, it will neither have to lament the miseries of war, nor to rebuild other magazines, to be again taken in their turn.

These principles apply to the Colonies of all the inferior maritime powers. The situation being the same, their government ought to be so too: France has been only the *nominative* of this question: all that has been said of her, may be said of all the powers inferior in marine strength, who, being subject to the same inconveniences, ought to be regulated by the same principles.

CHAP. XXV.

Plan for the Colonies proposed.

THE COLONIES, with all their advantages, have had and still have their difficulties. That feeling of disgust which their continual guard, their defence during war, their administration during peace, their police, the relation of their interests with those of the mother coun-

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obtained any other result of their brave efforts? The commanders and the soldiers, by the help of each other; but what availed either their courage or their talents, far from a mother country, separated from them, could give them only consolation and her regret?

————— *Si Pergama dextrâ*

Defendi possent, etiam hæc defensa fuissent.

These misfortunes, then, operate as a warning; the results so uniform, in experiments made on a small scale, we may see the principle of conduct adopted in the Colonies, when they are deprived of the aid of a marine force.

It comes itself to this: 1. All the useless military establishments ought to cease.

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at train of difficulties, passing without ceasing
the eyes of the governments and of political
men, has often driven both to desire to take a
part. It is not only in the present day that
occupied by the subject; the authors of the last
made themselves a name by their prodoo
the Colonies, only repeated what was known
posed almost at the period of their discovery.
people, who could believe that the plan of a
abandonment of the Colonies originated in
of Charles V.? At that period there was such a
and there were not wanting men of great skill
ght, who conceived the notion of an abandon-
these possessions, the lustre of which was
in appearance, but ruinous in reality. Their
ere, the probable depopulation of Spain in
the Colonies; the impossibility of their de-
their restraint, as well as the unnecessary re-
ain becoming, as it were, the factor for Europe

stated, cannot fail to excite much outcry: the thing is easy to be foreseen, and easier to be explained, owing to the interests which it affects. But what is outcry against truth? It is precisely because this truth is new that it is necessary to make it known. We will, therefore, pursue our course, and apply these principles to France. We ask of what use is her navy in the present state of things. There are two objects in a navy, commerce and policy; that is, riches and power. We protect our trade with ships of war; with them we also engage, drive away, or humble our enemy. The business, therefore, is to judge of the interest which France has in keeping up a naval force, and to examine how far this force accomplishes its double purpose.

First, The naval force of France is not able to protect her trade; for, to do that, in the first place, she must have some; and hers is so small, that it would not pay for the expense of its protection. Besides, in time of peace, merchant vessels can sail by themselves; it is only in time of war that they require a convoy: but in time of war where are they to go to, either alone or protected? Alone, not a single vessel can escape the enemies' cruisers or privateers; if in fleets, there must be a great number of vessels collected together, having a fixed destination, and under the protection of large convoys. But the fleets of France have no longer those places of destination which they formerly had; St. Domingo was the chief one, and St. Domingo no longer belongs to her. Shall France maintain a great naval force for convoys to Martinico and Guadeloupe, for she has nothing else remaining. The receipts would not cover the expense; but, moreover, as the collecting the vessels together, the point from which they depart, their route, their force, and their escort, are known long before hand, these convoys are always

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...orated writer upon the Colonies has endeavored to give a public interest to these questions. He has not hesitated, on the announcement of his proposition on the Colonies, to declare them separated from the mother country, by the sole effect of civilization of time; but when he arrives at the declaration of the part which must be taken, as to a portion of the subject so extensive, so interesting, and influencing, he is so much by its absence as by its presence; the author, so decided in theory, loses his fortitude. He hesitates, he is troubled, he falls into the error of the most miserable expedients. He attempts no result; no means of escape from the difficulties, which he has raised; and, like the hero in the fable, he is buried under the mountain he has accumulated.

...to examine all systems, they are all mischief in the way—which is, the total neglect of the affairs of the Colonies and of a good colonial organization.

mense preponderance of power that England possesses in a degree beyond all comparison with any other existing nation. The difference is not to be found between man and man, but between state and state. Since, therefore, things are in a situation which can neither be broken nor contested, all naval preparations on the part of France are useless to her commerce, of no avail in the defence of the land, and fatal to her glory, by offering a weak side that an enemy can take advantage of. When France shall no longer launch her squadrons upon the seas, England will be deprived of the principal subject of her triumphs. By giving up her own navy she will, in some measure, render void that of England; for what use will it be of when it has nothing to fight with? The English vessels will not come to conquer the provinces of France; and if they do, they will succeed as well after the French ships shall have been beaten, sunk, or taken into Portsmouth, as they would have done without their useless opposition. France listens to the advice of a very false policy in creating weak sides, when she might have none but strong ones. Why should she go to be beaten upon the ocean, when she is almost always sure of beating upon the continent? Unfortunately, this is what France has been always doing. We have seen her constantly counterbalancing her continental conquests by her naval losses, and always finding herself at the end of a war in the same condition she was in at the commencement of it, without reckoning the expenses that it has cost her; so that it would have been much better never to have begun. Did the French fleets, in the war of 1756, hinder the English from attacking the island of Aix, from taking Belle Isle, and from making a descent upon Bre-

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et plans referring to the continuance of the
x of the Colonies, preserve all the inconven-
their actual state: the subordination of one
to the other, the disproportion of the mother
to their Colonies, the immense separation of
nts, the absence of the eye of the sovereign,
uns under the pressure of the actual evils, that
without any remedy in the most essential
a question so important, it matters very lit-
may be the softenings, almost accidental or
rded to the Colonies; whether they have
tages, more or less. This is not the ques-
t of the Colonies is a question of State;
be free or not? This is its essence. The
Alberoni, of Raynal, and others, have no
ith it; and leave as before the Colonies at
tion of the mother country. Now here is the
il to be avoided, and of which nothing is said
olans. which. in no degree regard the con-

years of peace by the years of war, and the balance between them is nearly equal.* Moreover, we must observe that the greater part of the supplies of the navy, coming from abroad, are the means of greater sums of money going out of France than the accoutrements of regular troops are, the things necessary for which exists in the greatest abundance in the interior of France. So that the naval wars of France were times of riches for the North, which is the source from whence naval supplies come, as well as to the United States, which, in all colonial wars, will necessarily supply both the Colonies and their defenders. It follows from this statement, that the French navy is at once both useless and ruinous, which is too much by half; and that it is of no use to France, and yet impoverishes her, and consequently can only be maintained for two purposes; the first, that which is the subject of this chapter, co-operation with the navies of America and Europe; the second, for the sake of custom, which gives her a navy because other nations have one, and because she has always had one, without taking into account either time or circumstances, which, though they tolerated it at one period, proscribe it at another. The

* *Table of the wars between France and England since the year 1689.*

From 1689 to 1697, 8 years.

From 1701 to 1712, 11

From 1742 to 1748, 7

From 1756 to 1761, 7

From 1778 to 1782, 5

From 1793 to 1801, 8

From 1803 to 1814, 11

126

57

Years of war.....57

peace.....69

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als: it augments according to the localities
none could be less favourable to it than
America. Far from consulting it on its
ment, it should insist on prescribing one, and
deavour to prevent the first moment of its
from being the last of a portion of its popu-
that of its relation with Europe.

CHAP. XXVI.

Plan for the Colonies.

Principles of the colonial system have been ex-
numerous and important facts have been cited
; the separation of the Colonies from the
country has been shown to be inevitable: the

rica, will certainly be a strange sight; but, at the very moment, Buenos Ayres completely blockades Cadiz; and in the state in which things are now situated by the naval superiority, and by the superiority in colonial possessions which England enjoys, it is very evident that Europe can never be emancipated, in a naval point of view, except by the emancipation of America; from thence will issue legions in defence of the liberties of Europe, in order to defend the liberty of America itself; so much are they both connected; and, if England continues to keep Europe in a naval subjection, by so doing she will enslave America. If, on the contrary, America is emancipated, such an aggregate force will be formed as will give freedom to both the hemispheres. We most certainly shall not see the United States second the English navy: when they shall possess fifty ships of the line they will be at the service of all the maritime powers of Europe: there is a natural alliance between them; there is no necessity for written treaties; it is in the very nature of things. It will be the same with Brazil: the sovereign of that country, though friendly to the English at Lisbon, where they protect him, is hostile to them at Rio Janeiro, where he requires nothing but to be free: they do not offend him, except by the superiority of their power, but that is sufficient. As being one of the weaker naval powers, he is allied to all in the same condition against those who are stronger. The articles of this alliance are all formed in the single feeling of liberty and independence, which induces states, as well as individuals, to unite together against those who are able to oppress them. Let us extend these principles to the Colonies; from the Colonies will arise an enormous mass of forces, the na-

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ous cases, as she received her Colonies at
covery; she will lose them as she acquired
thing which ought, at all hazards, to be
for afterwards it will require ages to remedy
ts which have been suffered to get into the
cent itself. An act of that magnitude and
importance should be the work of a congress,
ould be the sole centre of authority and of
n, capable of opposing something to stem
at of those evils, which, without such aid,
ndure through many years, will drench with
the Colonies and Europe, will ruin both,
ave the two parties meditating on the ruins,
e loss which both have sustained by neglect-
ange their differences. Unfortunately this is
all great affairs: we never consider them till
ndurance of the greatest evils. The excess of
ef alone makes us resort to a cure, and it is
come to the height that we think of unprevent-

What a long term of years will be required to renew a population without which America is as if she existed not. What a long period will be required to renew old relations, when their sources have long been turned aside or broken !

The Colonies favour the establishment of a great number of states. The aggregation of several colonial countries forms a commonwealth which nature appears to have joined with the view of giving them the means of existing together, as if directing them to live under the same laws. Thus, on the continent of America, the barriers of the states seem to have been made by the hands of nature herself, who seems there to have worked on a more gigantic scale than in Europe. The countries there joined together are placed by her under a community of interests, and consequently of existence. Thus the Antilles, the Philippines, and the Moluccas, are evidently intended to be united ; the order which indicates it strikes the eye at the first glance. In the same manner on the continent, several countries have a community of existence, resulting from the possession of the same powers and properties. Thus the United States, encircled by the sea, the Apalachian Mountains, St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of Mexico, are destined to fill that space, and will continue to do so till they have accomplished the destiny marked out by too many signs to escape notice. The regions lying between the Amazon and the Orinoko, Chili and Peru, are not less distinctly marked : their flanks are covered by the broadest rivers and the loftiest mountains in the world, and their front by the ocean. Let us compare these barriers with those so much boasted of in Europe : these seas, styled rivers, with those rivulets which are honored in Europe with

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of rivers, which are crossed in all times, and
day ; and we shall easily perceive the superior
of the New World over the Old for accom-
such a division of states as is best adapted to
of its people. There it is that the doctrine
boundaries has its best application. In
times it has been supported by the display
which tended to make a false application of
not principle. The limits of states are not
regular calculations, but by chance, and by
causes impossible to be pointed out. Once
and protected by laws, it is difficult ever
them. The slightest alteration has cost ages
. Among states long established, existing
relations, the application of this principle
rise to arbitration, to violence, to danger ;
it would perpetually be encroaching, either
son or another. Justice and general interest
the natural barriers between the strong and

marked that there will be only occasion to sanction what already exists: for in the separation from Spain, America has followed the grand divisions which nature had marked out, and which the government had adopted. The congress of the new states was formed from them without any connexion between them ; thus the congress of Mexico has nothing in common with that of Buenos Ayres, nor this with Terra Firma.

The distinctive attribute of the New States is their maritime position ; there is not one which does not possess a great extent of coasts, and rivers which admit of the vessels advancing very far into the country. The form of America gives it this property. In the new condition of the people, their maritime position and the use of it which is its natural result, is productive of the greatest advantages to them. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to look at the progress of the United States during the space of thirty-six years ; what state purely continental could have advanced to their height ? In Europe we cannot compare those states situated on the sea or on the rivers to those which are distant from them. Holland is indebted to this circumstance for being the most populous country in Europe for its extent ; Bretagne, uncultivated in its interior, has the greatest population on its coasts of any single province of France ; the facility of procuring subsistence, and the abundance of employment which the sea affords, are its causes. These circumstances will be as much in the favour of the New States, who will find in the excellence of their resources abundant springs of prosperity.

The particular mode of government of these New States cannot make any part of this examination ; whatever in this respect might be settled, after a due

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tion of such important interests, the foundation-plan—the independence of the Colonies, and division into separate states—could not be at all hurt by it, and Europe would gain as much if her Colonies were monarchical as if it were republican, like the United States : for it is not by their mode of government that they would become useful, but by the resources of their independence alone.

CHAP. XXVII.

Advantages and disadvantages in the plan for the Colonies.

The division of this chapter is pointed out by the subject: we must show

of other Colonies. Thus Colonies, freed formerly by Companies, have now the liberty of commerce with the mother country, and are thus styled and considered free; but at what a distance is this from true liberty! Have they their own laws, their distinct administration, their commerce open to the world? Or are they subject to the laws of another, to a foreign administration, to foreign disputes? They are not then free; and it would be an insult to consider them so in their present state. Meanwhile this relief of their chains, these softenings of their lot, have been sufficient to render some flourishing, and to improve the state of others. America returns the double in metals and productions, at the end of ten years of free commerce; St. Domingo, freed in 1722, became in 1745 the king of the Colonies: every where it is the same where their chains have been lightened; every where they have revived and changed their aspect. What will they be then when this shadow, this phantom of liberty, shall be succeeded by its plenitude and reality. It will be like the United States, whose population doubled in the space of twenty-three years. This prodigious increase arose from the following advantages:

1. From a government of their own, and, of course, suited to their circumstances; from a fixed, instead of a changing, administration, as all must be which are exercised at a distance, or under the care of successive governors who felt no interest in the charges committed to them. The change in this respect would produce incalculable benefit; or rather we may guess at them by the extent of mischief produced by its absence: its influence would extend to every thing; government, police, education, manners, arts, commerce, agriculture, all would feel the animation of a

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administration. What countries are more fitted for the Colonies, by the fecundity of their soil, the variety of their productions, by the excellent quality of all their parts? When there exists in each of them an active principle to develop the latent seeds, with what force will they burst forth to repay the cares which have been bestowed

on the liberty of commerce. The revolution in the Colonies will give them this with the whole of the world. Let us guess, if we can, the effects. If it be the same as that of the mother country, they have prospered, what may be expected when they shall be at liberty to supply all their wants from all parts of the globe, to attach themselves to those who supply them, and to carry them in return such commodities of their soil as may be to the advantage of the mother country! What riches will result to them from the development of activity and consumption within

rather a contrary interest; they, destined only to produce and to consume, ought never to participate in quarrels whose first effort is to bear on their produce and consumption; since, when war breaks out between the mother countries the Colonies become the theatre of it. The storms bred in the mists of the Thames and the Seine burst in thunder upon Asia, on America, on the Moluccas, and the Antilles. Their productions are confined by the terror inspired by piracy; and the Colonies are thus hindered from receiving and from bestowing, from exporting and importing. The evil arises on both sides, for a cause for which they have not a shadow of interest. In that view, the lot of the Colonies has been truly deplorable and cruel. They have existed for Europe during 300 years; they have passed two thirds of that space under the hands of ferocious masters, labouring to expel or to exterminate each other on their bloody ruins. The rest of that time, since war has adopted customs less barbarous, has been spent in disputes, of which the result, always uniform to them, was to be conquered by turns, to change their masters, and to be deranged in the whole course of their operations, during that of the war, and even a long time after its conclusion.

We shall limit this examination to the following three principal effects: it presents a thousand others; but these include them all, and are sufficient to the elucidation of the subject.

If the Colonies find, in their separation from Europe the advantages which we have pointed out, Europe, in its turn, obtains advantages no less important by the same means.

The greater part of Europe has no Colonies: it will acquire them all by a general plan of indepen-

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or it can then trade with them, the only which constitutes their utility.

On the side the colonial powers will gain the orders of their protection, which exceed the revenues of sovereignty, and the extraordinary of their defence in time of war. They will recover the loss of commerce sustained during which shortened the quantity and raised the their productions, and which heightened the by multiplying the dangers and the chances. That loss was equal to all the power, colonial or not; but it was more sensibly felt, in proportion as they had possessions in. Thus Spain, which, in time of peace, from America more than 300,000,000, and 000,000, is injured on account of her colonialness. We must join to this advantage the of the colonial wars: there is not one which

crease their wants, and with them the means of satisfying them? Will those which supply the Colonies have then more to deliver to them? Or will their magazines have as much more to receive? And who are those furnishers, and what are those magazines? Is not Europe at once the furnisher and the magazine? If, in some productions of the soil, Europe and the Colonies are equal, the latter for industry cannot yet exist without Europe. In that point there can be no equality between them; and for many years still the Colonies will not have that industry, which will set them free from the tribute which they pay to that of Europe. Industry is a property of states fully formed; it is nourished by the excess of culture and of navigation: it demands time for the perfection of the arts, as well as for the instruction of workmen. Industry is placed in states like the capital on a pillar, after the whole is raised. The state is formed, organised, and provides, by degrees, what is necessary, and does not exert its industry till the prime wants are in some sort removed. Now the colonial states are, at present, in infancy; they have still to undergo all the degrees of increase; and that increase insures to Europe, for a long time, the benefit of their supplies. She has then much interest in their prosperity: she will prosper with them, by them, and in the same degree with them. Let us judge by what has passed in America, which corresponds in all. A separation was to be a death blow to England: thus prognosticated the greatest writers both of England and the Continent. On the contrary, the liberty of America has raised the prosperity of England: America, free, has prospered; England has prospered with her, by her, and as much as her: America, since free, has carried more to, and

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more from, England than she ever did, or
, while dependent. Happy proof! which,
ing the old and jealous maxims of exclusive
has revealed the true one, and has brought
its attribute, freedom; while they had so
intrusted it to its natural enemy, restraint
dence.

has but one interest with regard to her Co-
eir prosperity: for in prosperity they will
nd consume more, and every thing is in
these two words. This teaches us to pass
ments of hatred to those of generosity. The
the one makes that of the other: nothing
ture is so expansive as happiness, and in the
urope, a kind of treasure open to all, what
rest can they have than that of a common
? Thus Paris, London, and Amsterdam,
flourish and exchange their riches, without
and even without wishing it, but

Mexicos, or Limas—as there, no doubt, will be by the liberation of the Colonies—you will see what a movement will be felt in the commerce of Europe, you will see what torrents of gold and of silver will flow upon her, from those opulent countries, restored to exertion, and to the production of those riches, which lay hid in their bosom.

Europe then, as a whole, has much to gain from the new colonial system. Let us next enter into the detail of the advantages of each state in particular.

Portugal has no Colonies: she has, therefore, every thing to gain, and nothing to lose.

Holland gains a free access to the Colonies of the whole world. What a vast field thus opened to her industry, and at the same time to her active and economical spirit!

England would lose her Colonies only in appearance, and would gain all the rest in reality. We say that the loss would be only nominal, since her superior industry would preserve them to her; under this relation, it is not the interest of the Colonies to separate themselves from her. But England would principally gain in this, that the abandonment of her Colonies would besides permit her not to make the division of her forces, and leave her to transport them where they are most necessary—into India. The further England is extended, the more it increases its sovereignty in India, the more necessity is there to unite its strength there; all which is spent on other Colonies, where it is not wanted, is taken from Bengal, where it would be so well placed.

The people of the north, and those which border on the Baltic, have become navigators; they have so-

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length, temperance in the pursuit of gain; know that profit consists not in greatness but frequently repeated. The coasts of the Baltic are covered with commercial towns, peopled with intelligent and industrious. Sweden and Russia have turned their attention to the sea; Russia has not yet got emerged from the Baltic and Black Sea, and which has passed the last century extending and fixing the limits of her territories, now arrived at their extremities, has turned her attention to commercial and maritime interests. All the people of the north have not Colonies; they cannot have them; there only remains for them, to take a part in the great movement of commerce of the world, and it is by compacting their interests with that of the Colonies that this can be accomplished; the change which will take place then will be all to them. In the short space during which Spanish Colonies were open to the neuter

the possession of two or three factories, will gain the commerce of the whole world; such a trifle would gain her immensity.

Europe on the whole then would gain from such a change.

Spain still remains, which has the air of bearing all the burden. It may be proper to inquire if the word *lose* be applied to that power in that terrific acceptation which is always attached to it, and which Spain certainly sees in it. Montesquieu has said that the Spaniards and the Turks were the best people in the world for possessing empire uselessly; and he had reason. These two states are two great bodies deprived in the same degree of the movements and principles of administration and of life. Spain governs America as Turkey governs Syria and Egypt; between a pachalik and a Spanish congress there is no difference but in name. Spain may solace herself in the number of crowns which adorn her brow, in the thought that she is every where on which the sun shines, and that he is never absent from her domains. All this is very fine; but it is not solid; for in the number of Colonies of which Spain boasts, there is but one which is productive to her, Mexico—which serves to sustain the others. The Philippines, Havannah, Porto Rico, St. Domingo, the Floridas, Chili, Terra Firma, return her nothing; and are obliged for subsistence to derive support from Mexico. Spain would gain infinitely by the abandonment; for then she would enjoy all the produce of Mexico. Peru scarcely produces annually five millions; Buenos Ayres, with an extent of 148,000 square leagues, does not produce three millions.

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General produce of the Spanish Colonies to the
treasure at Madrid is. 45,000,000 francs.
to this the rights of the
to which the commerce
America gives rise. 15,000,000

Total. . . . 60,000,000

the sum which Spain fears to lose. Let us
the reality of the fear and of the loss. First,
present moment, there is nothing to lose; for
longer possesses America: she is fighting and
to regain possession of that well contested
Mexico, disturbed, now sends nothing;
arrested, no longer increases the customs
things are arrived at such a pitch that
merce of Vera Cruz, which is every year a
f more than 100,000,000 f.; in 1805,
y send into Spain the paltry sum of

the loss which Spain so much fears. We have a proof of this in the increase of the duties themselves, which doubled in ten years when the liberty of commerce was established between Spain and America from 1778 to 1788.

Let us go still further, and suppose as certain the loss valued above at 60,000,000 f., would it be impossible or even difficult to recover this with countries so opulent as Mexico and Peru? Does any one think that such states would consider that they had bought their liberty too dear, and the advantages which followed it, by consenting to pay to Spain, during a certain number of years whether in one sum or by degrees, a sum equal to that of the revenue which she was forced to renounce? We are in this calculation to observe two things; 1. That Spain would gain all the expenses of her wars with America, of which there is not one which does not absorb several years of her revenue: 2. That it is very probable that force would not gain what an amicable arrangement would produce. So much for the sovereignty of Spain. Let us now consider her in a commercial view:—

She trades in two ways—with her own productions, and with such foreign articles as she gives encouragement to. The first belong to herself; the second are the property of foreigners, by whom Spain makes no other gains than those of the rent of the houses which they occupy, and their daily consumption. Look at the state of the commerce of Cadiz; three fourths of the mercantile houses in that city are foreign, and the merchandize too. There is no profit to Spain from this, but the transit.

As to her own productions, nothing ought to render Spain fearful of losing a market for them. Will America, because free, cease to consume the articles to

Consequently this sovereignty is more burdensome than useful:
 the profits of the trade are 20,000,000 fr.
 From this deduct the interest of
 the Company's capital, which
 is 140 millions of francs, and
 at 5 per cent. is 7,000,000
 The final result gives a free sum
 of 13,000,000
 It is but fair to add the profits
 annually brought to England
 by the residents in India, who
 return, and which Mr. Dundas
 estimated at 20,000,000 .

Thus this empire, purchased in
 so many extraordinary ways,
 by so many combats and la-
 bours, is reduced to 33,000,000

Let us now inquire into the state of commerce
 between India and Europe.

M. de Humboldt, whose calculations are always
 accurate and cautious, in the fifth vol. of his work on
 New Spain, fixes the sum exported by the Cape of
 Good Hope to Asia, at 86,000,000 fr.

According to the same author,
 the commerce with China ab-
 sorbs a sum of 20,000,000

Supposing that five or six millions
 stop on the Red Sea, or the
 Persian Gulf, there will re-
 main 60,000,000

In which sum Europe is tributary to India.

Here then, in short, we have the sum and substance
 of the effects of the discovery and occupation of India.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Particular Considerations.

WHEN great revolutions, and prolonged commotions, have agitated the kingdoms of the earth, displaced some, crushed others, rendered unnatural the existence of several, cast down what had been, or what had become, great; wisdom directs that the troubles should be prevented which so many opposing interests might renew. The mind of man is not easily arrested in the pursuit of what he has lost, and of what he conceives to belong to him.

Twenty-five years of commotions, which had at one time depressed what was elevated and again has elevated what was depressed, have discovered and left in full view interests, and also men, who, after being carried by the stream of events to stations altogether unlooked for by them, are no more, after having occupied them, the same that they would have been, if they had never been elevated. They do not exist by themselves alone, their families must continue them, and, in some cases, circumstances have given them very powerful holds upon society.

Would it be improper, or inconsistent with the interests of Europe to give them places, under this point of view, in the Colonies, which are no longer to be found in Europe? We may sometimes throw off with utility a load, the watching of which is both troublesome and dangerous. An existence of half grandeur and half humiliation is never a pledge of

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things only which are well defined present. The colonial regions present their vacuum and preservative against the dangers of. Some persons prefer continuing to hate and we think it best to conciliate. There are which merely require to be pointed out to show ty, and on which circumspection does not e a duty, except when it has ceased to be an ssity.

CHAP. XXIX.

English Empire in India, and its Duration.

the Europeans have established themselves they have been occupied with two separate

1st, The necessity of extending the sovereignty, in order to secure it.

2d, The necessity of securing it, in order to extend the commerce of Europe with India.

The establishments connected with a government are always expensive to form and to keep up. It is even very rare that the receipts coming from a sovereignty equal the expense which it requires: what is true in the heart of Europe, where almost no state, beginning with England, can supply its ordinary expenses from its ordinary revenues, ought, *a fortiori*, to be true with respect to the Colonies. We may be convinced of it, by reflecting on what some of her Colonies have cost Spain: indeed without Mexico she would have been obliged to have abandoned all of them. On adding to this calculation that of the extraordinary expenses of the colonial wars, we shall find much to subtract from the products which Europe has drawn from her Colonies, and not in consequence of any inherent vice in these possessions, but from the régime which she has introduced and maintained against the nature of things.

The larger are the Colonies, and the farther they are removed from the mother country, the greater is the opposition of the natives, and the concurrence of the resident Europeans in their sentiments: of course the expenses of watching over them are increased. Now let us see what has happened in India. All the Europeans established themselves there at once; all had to combat the natives, and all fought with each other: thus the expenses were double, and as they came at once both from India and Europe, time gave the victory to one nation, which remained the exclusive master: this nation had, therefore, to support alone all

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ses which were shared among all those which
ted. Alone it bears the weight of the an-
n of India: it was necessary for it to propor-
means of defence to those of the attacks which
it; and it became a conqueror that it might
pelled. Now every war made between the
and the Europeans must have this character;
the wars in Europe have a new political
view, and always terminate by leaving every
where they found him. They conquer, but
not expel: this ought to be well understood,
counts for the progressive extent which Eng-
given to its empire in India.

at a great distance from Europe, in the midst
le and more numerous population, with jea-
pean rivals by their sides, the English have
India as the French had done in the happy
Dupleix and La Bourdonnaye; they have
emselves precisely in their place, and have

power which they assisted in pulling down? What would Tippoo Saib have done had he triumphed over the English by the assistance of the French; he who caused one of his ambassadors to be murdered in France in order to get rid of his statements respecting such subjects as had attracted his attention in that country? Let no one entertain any doubt on this head; the expulsion of the Europeans from India is, and always will be, the thought and the wish which every Indian will cherish in his heart. Now, under such circumstances, we must examine whether our sole empire, erected on a strong foundation, and constructed in the most solid manner, be not a better guarantee for the conservation of India in its interests than the division of the country into several sovereignties, the essence of which would be mutual jealousies, wars, and appeals to the natives for assistance against their adversaries. Have the European powers which held possessions in India been otherwise employed during 300 years? India was parcelled out among them: how did they then proceed? If they were not employed in exciting the princes of the country against themselves, they were mixing them up as parties in all their quarrels, in all the secrets of their policy, instructing them in their tactics, in all their murderous knowledge, all of them equally forgetting that, besides the private interest of the Europeans, those princes had the feelings of natives, namely those of indiscriminate enmity towards all foreigners established in their country. If, to the danger which an Indian army even now presents to Europe, kept in order as they are by a handful of English scattered among them, there were also added that of another Indian army in the service of France, of another In-

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Indian experiences almost no want under a warm sky, and with a fertile soil. It is in cold, and in a humid soil, that living is dear and multiplied: how many wants created by winter shed by the spring! Some bamboos, a little coarse cloth of his own making, compose the food, and the dress of an Indian; he is in measure clothed by the climate; he has no tastes, which the great only desire; idleness is the business of these peaceful beings. When poverty knock at the door, a piece of cloth suspended on trees soon furnishes the means of satisfying it enables the owner to return to his beloved cloth. The elements for such manufactures are easily obtained; the European manufactories could not stand the competition, peopled as they are with workmen, and living at an expensive rate. India, conquered by the arms of Europe, subjects Europe

merchants and trading companies have been enriching themselves and India, but impoverishing Europe. The Dutch alone, in the space of fourteen years, took out to India seven millions of sterling money.

There are two ways in which this drain may be stopped: 1st, By the rights of sovereignty. 2d, By the sale of the merchandize of Europe, in return for that of India.

By the sovereignty two things may be done:

1st, Compensate the expenses of the sovereignty: the receipts are supposed to pay the expenses. Thus, if the East India Company receives from the sovereignty 100,000,000 fr.

And expends only 80,000,000

There remains 20,000,000

with which to pay the price of the merchandize which it wishes to introduce: in this way the rights of sovereignty may come to the aid of commerce. Now let us see, so far as England is concerned, the products of the sovereignty and those of commerce: this estimate will give the just measurement of the value of this empire, and will enable us to come at the solution of the problem of its duration.

The products of the sovereignty

amount to 460,000,000 fr.

The expences to 483,000,000

Loss or deficiency 23,000,000

To this we must add the expenses which are borne by the Treasury of England; expenses which, in time of war, cannot fail to be very great, so that, if the Company had to pay all, it would be impossible that it could.

THE COLONIES

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. 13,000,000
ut fair to add the profits
ally brought to England
he residents in India, who
rn, and which Mr. Dundas
nated at 20,000,000
his empire, purchased in
many extraordinary ways,
o many combats and la-
s, is reduced to 33,000,000
now inquire into the state of commerce

It takes from Europe the precious metals which America sends her.

Two important truths result from this calculation:

1. That India demands from Europe something equivalent to..... 60,000,000 fr.

2. That Europe will cease to have any interest in the sovereignty of India, from the day in which she makes her accept of sixty millions worth of her productions, in payment of those which she receives from her, and which she now pays in silver.

Here we see the solution of the problem of the duration of the English empire over India: by the English empire, we mean the European empire, for England there reigns in the name of Europe.

If England has wished to subjugate India for the sake of her commerce, she may restore India to her own sovereigns the instant that India will accept of as much merchandize as she sends out. Then the sovereignty will be quite naturally changed into commercial relations, which will save all the expenses of establishments, armies, and wars: this is what England gained by her separation from the United States; her commerce with them was quintupled, and all charges have ceased. The same sort of calculation is to be applied on the present occasion; and always obtrudes itself on every colonial question, as if to let us know the very point at which it may be advisable to retain or give up those possessions.

From this state of things two questions present themselves to our consideration, viz.

1st. What is the interest of Europe with respect to the sovereignty of India?

2d. How is the same interest affected with regard to commercial intercourse with that country?

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gnty in the colonial state, and principally in but one object, namely, produce, not power; colonies are nothing more than farms belonging to Europe, and not the direct means of power, as the colonies of different states are with regard to their respective states. Colonies are desirable on account of their produce, and for commercial purposes, and so sovereignty is nothing more than the means of preserving and extending them.

Sovereignty be the source of commerce, if it make up for its inequality, the value of sovereignty is doubled; its benefits extend even to those who do not share in it, but whose capitals it, in some measure, preserves. Now, in this view, the English in India acts as the conservator of the interests of Europe, by means of the rights of sovereignty which it holds, and from the field which it opens to commerce it saves Europe the loss of all that portion of her capital which would be necessary to replace the pro-

Consequently, the extension of sovereignty by that nation which can offer the Indians the greatest number of different articles to their taste, and which effects this by means of its sovereignty, is applicable to Europe as well as to that nation itself, and all Europe participates in its advantages. The only thing that remains is to discover which is that nation, no matter what name it bears, provided it certainly be able to stretch its empire to the greatest extent, and with it that species of taste which is best adapted to spare European capital: nothing more is necessary than a simple calculation, a calculation which all political and commercial data decide in favour of England. If English sovereignty draws back, either by itself or by means of its commerce, of which it is the instrument, the 60,000,000 francs. that Europe sends to India, is not that sum a conquest which England gives to Europe almost as much as to herself? For it is much better for Europe that her money should remain within herself, and even in England, from which commercial transactions would be always certain of drawing some part, than in India, where the whole sum would always remain. If there are some who would prefer enriching India rather than England, we confess we do not feel ourselves Indians up to this point.

This leads us to inquire whether the authority of one nation alone in India be not more useful than that of many.

This question is resolved by the local distance which separates India from Europe, as well as by the moral distance which separates the Indian from the European.

Let us always keep in view the relations in which

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and India, and the Indian and European mixed with respect to each other: the latter is a stranger from a far distant country, carrying in his bosom the seeds of oppression, and slavery. In such a case what can be the habitual disposition of India with respect to those strangers? Just the same as Europe would be to Indians were Indians to become the lawgivers of Europe. It is unnecessary to state what she would do at every moment she was able. It is the same with the Indian. He suffers that which he cannot prevent. He is timid, a stranger to the ardent passions which make the blood to boil in the veins of the African. He is restrained by barriers which manners render inviolable. He obeys, that of caste, he presents and bows a yoke which he knows not how to refuse to the power of slavery. The religious and political institutions of that country had, for a long time before, paved the way for the empire of Europe, by destroying in the people that mental spring which en-

power which they assisted in pulling down? What would Tippoo Saib have done had he triumphed over the English by the assistance of the French; he who caused one of his ambassadors to be murdered in France in order to get rid of his statements respecting such subjects as had attracted his attention in that country? Let no one entertain any doubt on this head; the expulsion of the Europeans from India is, and always will be, the thought and the wish which every Indian will cherish in his heart. Now, under such circumstances, we must examine whether one sole empire, erected on a strong foundation, and constructed in the most solid manner, be not a better guarantee for the conservation of India in its interests than the division of the country into several sovereignties, the essence of which would be mutual jealousies, wars, and appeals to the natives for assistance against their adversaries. Have the European powers which held possessions in India been otherwise employed during 300 years? India was parcelled out among them: how did they then proceed? If they were not employed in exciting the princes of the country against themselves, they were mixing them up as parties in all their quarrels, in all the secrets of their policy, instructing them in their tactics, in all their murderous knowledge, all of them equally forgetting that, besides the private interest of the Europeans, those princes had the feelings of natives, namely those of indiscriminate enmity towards all foreigners established in their country. If, to the danger which an Indian army even now presents to Europe, kept in order as they are by a handful of English scattered among them, there were also added that of another Indian army in the service of France, of another In-

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in the service of Holland, and of a fourth
vice of Portugal, we would have an oppor-
tunity of seeing whether all those Indian armies would
be in the service of Europeans, and whether
the European ensign would not soon be replaced by the
Indian. Well; such would be the danger of dividing
the several sovereignties. What then were the
Europeans doing by arming and raising a multitude
of Indians to a level with themselves? What were they
doing when they were organizing the avengers of India.
Were they preparing the instruments of their common
ruin and a fate similar to that which they have
seen at Japan: instead of the empire of India
they would have found places assigned to them where
they were to pay their money and to take up the mer-
chandise which they were to receive in return, accom-
panied with every symptom of contempt, of distrust,
and of hatred. Europe has no reason to pride herself
in the mode in which she governs the Colonies.

—all intrigues with the princes of the country. It renders one sole power sufficiently strong to resist their attacks; it is the safeguard of Europe in India, and the only sure guarantee for retaining possession of that country.

- In the next place, how long is England to retain possession of India? The answer is obvious: until the tastes of Europe have sufficiently penetrated into India so as to establish an equality of commerce between them. When arrived at this point, England will no longer have any interest in retaining it; on the contrary, she will have a great interest in abandoning that country to itself; for all the expenses incurred by wars in that country, and such others as result from sovereignty, and are not covered by its revenues, will be so much clear gains. When that time comes, provided the Europeans continue to be received in India in a commercial character, they have no more interest in the territorial possession of it than in that of China or of Turkey. In what respect is Europe injured by not enjoying the sovereignty in those two countries? Consequently, that European calculation which England should make is confined to the extending of a taste for European produce, whether territorial or manufactures and works of art. Her dominion, well understood, should be confined to that great result. As soon as she has succeeded in disseminating European tastes through India in such manner as to form solid and equal* relations between them; then

* It appears to me that the law which prohibits any British subject from acquiring landed property in India, and from establishing themselves there, is directly contrary to the object which England should propose to herself. So far from removing the English from India, she should endeavour to establish them there. A million of

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might unfurl her sails, and shape her course
Europe, carrying off her soldiers, judges, go-
archives—all the instruments of a different
things, and of other times, having peaceable
s, industrious traders in the place of such
lumber, who would enable her to find more
in their warehouses than her armies trans-
from one end of the world to the other, or
one of government, which sinks under the
its complicated wheel-work, ever carry back
England will gain, once more, what she has
ained by abandoning America, from which,
time she has withdrawn her crown and
he has drawn five times the produce that she
she reigned over that country.

revolution will be hastened by the terms last
to the commerce of India. It results from
acts passed on the 17th of December 1813,
all English subjects are admitted to a parti-

to that ability and economy which private interest is always sure to bestow on the trader. The exclusive trade of India was the last refuge of that species of commerce which has done so much harm in the world; its last resource is gone. On this occasion we cannot but admire the progress of civilization, which goes on continually attacking in every direction the deformities which prejudice and ignorance have created to the detriment of the human species. It has purged away those pirates from Africa which infested the seas of Europe, and has forbidden Europe hereafter to depopulate the coasts of Africa; it is fighting in America for the rights of an entire continent—opens India to all the benefits of commerce regulated by the natural interests of all those who will take a part in it. This change in the commercial regulations of India will be attended with the most important consequences to England, to Europe, and to India.

Riches will increase from the relations which will increase between the Europeans and Indians. The latter, by taking part in the social institutions, from which they were excluded, will enter, for the first time, into the civil and political order: person and property are now as well protected among them as in Europe: commerce will procure them riches and information, which latter will lead them to other ideas than those which have governed them up to the present time, and their separation from all foreign dominion will be the necessary result. But, then, the commercial relations, which will be established on true bases, will have become so advantageous, that they will naturally take the place of a sovereignty, which it will be impossible, for two reasons, to maintain, viz. its expense and its inutility.

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opening India to private trade is the same thing as opening the ports of Mexico and Peru, on the part of Spain, would be to America; namely, to ruin her. On both sides it is equally in the same things.

CHAP. XXX.

What will the United States become?

The United States were recognized as free and independent thirty-four years ago, and behold how they have increased in territory, population, and riches, at that time! How rapid has been their flight! How wide the space it embraces! How the principle, or

equally unprovided with monuments and with the means of raising any ; because, like most other savage nations, or nations in their infancy, they had not the least notion of the most common instruments, they were not even acquainted with the use of the saw and of the hatchet, without which there are neither architects nor houses. The Spaniards were therefore under a necessity of building the towns which they now inhabit. They took advantage of the unoccupied space and of the want of old foundations to build there commodiously and according to uniform plans. This is what has given to the towns of the Spanish continent a greater degree of regularity and convenience, as well as situations more happily chosen than to the towns of Old Spain. The conquerors endeavoured to fix and to generalize these beneficent dispositions in their new possessions by the means of law ; and there is no doubt but, had they been punctually executed, America would have presented a more pleasing aspect from its regularity and from its decorations. The United States have also fixed upon sites and plans for new towns destined to rise upon their soil : they have made all the necessary regulations for adding at once elegance, beauty, and convenience to their country ; nothing has been omitted, and in the lapse of time, America will present the unheard of spectacle of an immense country laid out as it were with a line.

The new states will of course follow these examples, not being embarrassed in any degree by old buildings, which always operate as a constraint or confinement when new ones are to be erected ; they can display on their free soil the genius of Europe, her taste and her arts : they are at liberty to choose models in all countries, and to apply them at home in such a manner as

from their love of science, in the same places of instruction—meeting the productions of their climates cultivated by the hands of those to whom they themselves can in order to have their minds cultivated? What a novel career is opened to study by the research and development of all such parts of instruction as relate to the Colonies? How delightful to a feeling mind to see the remedies for the peculiar diseases with which nature has afflicted the colonial regions prepared in his own country, and the Old World labouring to give back to the New those preservatives which she received from it for the relief of her own inhabitants? May all their contentions be confined to such peaceable exchanges of kind offices.

Europe would have to take one step more to complete her work in favour of her Colonies, namely, to promote the increase of their population; she would be working for her own advantage. By giving inhabitants to the Colonies, she would provide consumers for her own productions; she would frequently disencumber herself of the excess of her population, an instrument of harm upon her own soil, of prosperity on that of the Colonies. He who loads the lands of Europe with an useless or dangerous weight, becomes an industrious cultivator in America, a father of a family as friendly to morals as he might have been hostile to them in Europe. But we are not contemplating those cargoes of men taken without selection, heaped together in infected ships, thrown without precaution upon those murderous regions which have quickly devoured whole swarms of dupes, deceived by sharpers, and conducted by the blind: no, no, we could never entertain a thought of renewing a measure which might recall similar horrors, but to remove every barrier

which would obstruct their passage towards the Colonies; and, that no apprehensions might be entertained from this imperceptible efflux of inhabitants, it will never amount to 20,000 men a year: and what is this quantity to all Europe? In the year of the greatest emigration to America it did not amount to more than 5,000 men. The inhabitants which Europe has ceded to the Colonies have not dispeopled her; for when she has sent one man to the Colonies, it has been the means of causing two to spring up in Europe.

Europe should, on this occasion, never lose sight of the interest which she has in augmenting that population which is properly her own; for it has the same taste as that of Europe, which is the only thing that concerns her. Men, who are strangers to her tastes, would be the same to her as nonentities; and, if we except the sacred character of humanity, the animal which supports man and clothes him with its fleece is more useful to him than the stupid savage who spends his sad days in a drowsy apathy, which estranges him from all the world beside.

Such are the ideas which the consideration of this great question of the Colonies, and that of its connection with the general interests of Europe, and of the world, have suggested to us. It could not possibly be taken up under more favourable circumstances. The barrier of prejudice is broken down: the old spirit of monopoly has been obliged to yield to the true principles of commerce; no obstacle can any longer oppose the march of the human mind and human industry. Our wish is to persuade all governments to permit those happy dispositions to act; we have only one request to make, which is, not for them to *do* any thing, but simply for them not to *prevent* others; the whole art

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as it were by instinct, towards the ocean, to commerce and navigation; through these it is and careers open themselves to his view; he feels the native impulse of his blood, which draws him towards all maritime and commercial concerns. Let mankind only feel wants and commerce the American asks no more, and the same may be applied to him as to the Dutch, "Let commerce increase, and Dutchmen will in-

The United States have got possession of Louisiana, prodigiously extended beyond the Appalachians, and seem as if they would extend to the South Sea. Their establishments turn Mexico, on its northern frontier, and there is but they will endeavour to stretch the limits of Louisiana to the great river Del Norte. When she held the United States, she took care to add Nova Scotia, or Acadia, by the peace of Utrecht, in

lation in the United States has hitherto been the means of Great Britain's retaining those two possessions; but when the increase of that population will place an enormous mass of Americans at their very doors, how can England be able to defend them? Acadia and Canada will have ceased to belong to England on the day that the United States will be able to establish an army of 50,000 men. The English will find themselves in a position, with respect to the Americans, equivalent to that in which they formerly found themselves in France. They will be in the same circumstances in Canada as they were in France during the time that they held possession of Guienne and Normandy; as the Swedes were in Finland since Petersburgh existed, but with this difference, that Guienne and Finland are situated only at the distance of a few leagues from England and Sweden, whereas the United States are by the side of Canada, and England is distant a thousand leagues from it.

It is proper to add to this first consideration, that of the relative expence which this war will draw on the two countries; it is very evident that any war in America or Canada will stand England infinitely more dear than the United States. It would be worth while to discover how much the last war in Canada has cost England.

It is then demonstrated, that in the course of some time, either short or long, the United States, or American confederatism, will hold dominion over all North America.

In such a state of things what will North America become? Will she remain united and republican? Is she destined to falsify the ancient principles which assign the term of existence of every republic to its

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n extent? The government which was adapted to a population of from four to eight of men, to an uniform and contracted territory, it equally suit a population and extent of much more enlarged? When a great part of shall find themselves placed behind vast mountains, such as the Apalachian, will not the communication which exists on one side of that chain of living independent of every thing which exists on the opposite side? The contiguity of the United States, when first formed, their situation on the sea, which facilitated their mutual commerce, have contributed very much to their forming one political body; but at present, when the States penetrate a great way into the country, the distances have become immense, when it is necessary to cross mountains of difficult access for the purposes of communication, the states of the

ideas with respect to the state of Spain, compared with that of the other powers of Europe, and the young men of America, sacrificing a part of their national prejudices, have conceived a marked predilection for such nations as are in a more cultivated state than old Spain. Under such circumstances it cannot excite astonishment, that the political movements which have taken place in Europe since 1789, have excited the most lively interest among men who have long aspired to rights, the privation of which is, at once, an obstacle to public prosperity, and a motive of resentment against the mother country.

“ This disposition of men's minds impelled the viceroys and governors in some of the provinces to adopt measures which, so far from calming the agitations of the Colonies, contributed to add to their discontent. Some thought they saw the germ of revolt in every association, the object of which was the propagation of knowledge. Printing presses were prohibited in towns of from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants; peaceable citizens who had retired to the country, and were reading the works of Montesquieu and Robertson, or of Rousseau, were suspected of revolutionary ideas. When war broke out between France and Spain, the unfortunate Frenchmen who had been living in Mexico twenty or thirty years, were dragged to prison. One of them, apprehensive of seeing the barbarous spectacle of an auto-de-fé renewed, committed an act of suicide in the prison of the Inquisition: his body was burned in the public square of Quimadero. At the same epoch, the government thought they discovered a conspiracy at Santa Fe, the capital of the kingdom of New Granada; individuals were put in irons who, in the way of trade with the island of St. Do-

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extreme and highly improbable case of the States holding together, assuredly the government change, or if not, the notions of every man which governs men must have changed, and it is conformable to every rule of probability, that the United States will do that which England ought to do, in erecting a throne in America, instead of attempting to maintain her own there, contrary to all rule and probability. It is very evident that the United States will do that which France in its turn has done—by establishing a French Prince instead of making it an English province by attempting to keep it a French one. It will belong to the United States to repair those capital mistakes. The United States have exposed royalty to great danger by the action of their Congress, which extends over all the continent; it may make shipwreck of Spain in that part of the world, and that great spectacle, blazing forth

country from which she receives her riches, is of a nature to make an impression on the minds of men, such as the rules of wisdom order us to guard against at any price.

It will be curious to observe how those who have had so little foresight will repair their mistakes when the event takes place; but then a cry not less loud will be uttered than if it had been under the safeguard of impossibility itself.

If there be any thing more astonishing than this spectacle, it is the passiveness of those who assist in it without seeming to understand any thing about it.

CHAP. XXXI.

Colonial Establishments.

AFTER having said that it is necessary to form Colonies, is it not, also, proper to state what should be done for them; and would not this work be incomplete without such an article, for the conclusion of which the nature of the subject seems to have reserved it, as the painter and artist reserve shading and ornaments until they are putting the last hand to their performances.

The European establishments all savour strongly of the epoch of their formation; the arts were then in their infancy, especially such as relate to the enjoyments of life, or even of domestic economy. In distant times, for instance, men lived apart from each

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lling in frightful cities destined rather for
ce against the enemy than for convenience;
therefore present almost every where a hidi-

There are none in Europe really hand-
those lately built; which is the reason that
st every where present beautiful suburbs by
very ugly towns; their contiguity exhibits
direct and striking contrast of the difference
ages, and may be used as a model. That
opened in the interior of the habitations of
ok place in every thing else; every thing was
uncouth and gross. She transported her igno-
want of taste to the Colonies; they were
organized on defective plans like their mo-
new day has shone forth on Europe, the arts
n away ignorance, taste has replaced bar-
d every thing which is dated within the
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equally unprovided with monuments and with the means of raising any ; because, like most other savage nations, or nations in their infancy, they had not the least notion of the most common instruments, they were not even acquainted with the use of the saw and of the hatchet, without which there are neither architects nor houses. The Spaniards were therefore under a necessity of building the towns which they now inhabit. They took advantage of the unoccupied space and of the want of old foundations to build there commodiously and according to uniform plans. This is what has given to the towns of the Spanish continent a greater degree of regularity and convenience, as well as situations more happily chosen than to the towns of Old Spain. The conquerors endeavoured to fix and to generalize these beneficent dispositions in their new possessions by the means of law ; and there is no doubt but, had they been punctually executed, America would have presented a more pleasing aspect from its regularity and from its decorations. The United States have also fixed upon sites and plans for new towns destined to rise upon their soil : they have made all the necessary regulations for adding at once elegance, beauty, and convenience to their country ; nothing has been omitted, and in the lapse of time, America will present the unheard of spectacle of an immense country laid out as it were with a line.

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e and so painfully, preceded her Colonies in
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not the parent states have gained by extending the knowledge of colonial productions at home as well as by giving their own productions to the Colonies? Would not this new kind of commerce and exchange have been the most precious of all? Would it not have been equally useful to the Colonies and to Europe? The new arrangement enables them to repair that neglect: the Colonies, divided into several states, will be better known in proportion as they become more populous; they will stand in more need of Europe in every thing that belongs to education, to sciences, and the arts. For a long time to come these new countries will not have within themselves the talents or knowledge which their different employments require. Empires do not commence with academicians, but with cultivators; population and settlement are the first objects; study succeeds, and science arrives to improve and adorn the edifice: such is the gradation of civilization. The United States, founded by a very enlightened people, and having possessed such men as Franklin, and possessing many other well informed men, still feel this want of masters; the new states will feel the same wants for a long time to come, and Europe, if she know how to take advantage of it, may still enjoy their infancy for a considerable period. Have we not seen Brazil borrowing her instructors from France, with which she could not be supplied within herself? Why might not establishments be formed in Europe capable of attracting the Americans, by enabling them to find methods of instruction here, which as yet they have not among themselves? What spectacle is more grand, and at the same time more satisfactory, than that which the Peruvian, the Mexican, the Creole of the Antilles, would present when assembled together,

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love of science, in the same places of im-
-meeting the productions of their climates
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Europe should, on this occasion, never lose sight of the interest which she has in augmenting that population which is properly her own; for it has the same taste as that of Europe, which is the only thing that concerns her. Men, who are strangers to her tastes, would be the same to her as nonentities; and, if we except the sacred character of humanity, the animal which supports man and clothes him with its fleece is more useful to him than the stupid savage who spends his sad days in a drowsy apathy, which estranges him from all the world beside.

Such are the ideas which the consideration of this great question of the Colonies, and that of its connection with the general interests of Europe, and of the world, have suggested to us. It could not possibly be taken up under more favourable circumstances. The barrier of prejudice is broken down: the old spirit of monopoly has been obliged to yield to the true principles of commerce: no obstacle can any longer oppose the march of the human mind and human industry. Our wish is to persuade all governments to permit those happy dispositions to act; we have only one request to make, which is, not for them to *do* any thing, but simply for them not to *prevent* others; the whole art

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every is entirely comprehended in this at the
one. We shall here conclude with expressing
sent which is deeply impressed upon our hearts,
that if it were permitted to regret life, or to
return to it, it would be not to be deprived of
pleasure which the world will present after the
accomplishment of that revolution which is now
passing in America. If our ancestors saw every
change around them in consequence of the dis-
covery of that country, our posterity will be witnesses
of other changes, in consequence of what it feels
at the present moment:

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.

Take the following extract from M. de Hum-
boldt's publication, very well calculated to throw some
light upon what is going forward in America at present.

the river Del Norte, and to the coasts of New California. There were insurrections of Indians in 1601, 1609, 1624, and 1692. In the last, the palace of the Viceroy, the mansion house of the mayor, and the public prisons, were burned down by the natives, and the Viceroy, Count de Galvez, could find no security but in the protection of the monks of the Order of St. Francis. Notwithstanding those events, caused by a want of subsistence, the Court of Madrid did not consider itself under any necessity of augmenting the troops in New Spain, in those times when the union between the Mexican and European Spaniards was even close: the mistrust of the mother country was solely confined to the natives and mestizoes, or those of mixed breed; the number of white Creoles was so very trifling, that from that very circumstance they were reduced to make common cause with the Europeans. It is to that state of things that the tranquillity must be attributed, which prevailed in the Spanish Colonies, when, after the death of Charles II, foreign princes were contending for the possession of Spain. The Mexicans, at that epoch, at first governed by a descendant of Montezuma, and afterwards by an archbishop Mechoachan, remained tranquil spectators of the great contest between the houses of France and Austria. The Colonies patiently followed the lot of the mother country; and the successors of Philip V did not begin to fear the spirit of independence which manifested itself in New England so long back as the year 1743, until the grand confederation of free states was formed in North America.

“ The apprehensions of the court were still further increased when, a few years before the peace of Versailles, Gabriel Condorcanqui, the son of the Cacique

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ama, better known under the name of Tupac
excited a rebellion among the aboriginal in-
of Peru for the purpose of establishing the
empire of the Incas at Cusco. That civil
ing which the Indians exercised the most
acts of cruelty, continued almost two years;
Spaniards had lost the battle in the pro-
inta, the daring enterprise of Tupac Amaru
e been attended with fatal consequences, not
e mother country but probably to the extir-
all the whites established on the elevated
ne Cordilleras and those in the neighbouring
However extraordinary that event may ap-
causes were not at all connected with the
s to which the progress of civilization and
of a free government had given birth among
ies. Isolated from the rest of the world,
o sort of communication but with the ports
ther country, Peru and Mexico took no part

ideas with respect to the state of Spain, compared with that of the other powers of Europe, and the young men of America, sacrificing a part of their national prejudices, have conceived a marked predilection for such nations as are in a more cultivated state than old Spain. Under such circumstances it cannot excite astonishment, that the political movements which have taken place in Europe since 1789, have excited the most lively interest among men who have long aspired to rights, the privation of which is, at once, an obstacle to public prosperity, and a motive of resentment against the mother country.

“ This disposition of men's minds impelled the viceroys and governors in some of the provinces to adopt measures which, so far from calming the agitations of the Colonies, contributed to add to their discontent. Some thought they saw the germ of revolt in every association, the object of which was the propagation of knowledge. Printing presses were prohibited in towns of from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants; peaceable citizens who had retired to the country, and were reading the works of Montesquieu and Robertson, or of Rousseau, were suspected of revolutionary ideas. When war broke out between France and Spain, the unfortunate Frenchmen who had been living in Mexico twenty or thirty years, were dragged to prison. One of them, apprehensive of seeing the barbarous spectacle of an auto-de-fé renewed, committed an act of suicide in the prison of the Inquisition: his body was burned in the public square of Quimadero. At the same epoch, the government thought they discovered a conspiracy at Santa Fe, the capital of the kingdom of New Granada; individuals were put in irons who, in the way of trade with the island of St. Do-

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had procured some French journals ; youths
years of age were put to the torture for the
of extorting secrets from them of which they
knowledge.

In the midst of these agitations, respectable magis-
trates (the recollection of it is pleasant), and they too
s, raised their voices against these acts of in-
dignity and violence ; they represented to Court that a
policy was attended with no other effect
of souring men's minds, and that it was not
and by augmenting the number of troops
of natives, but by an equitable government,
improving the social institutions, and by com-
plying with the just demands of the Colonists, that the
union united the Colonies to the mother country
was made still more fast. Such salutary counsel
followed, the colonial *regime* underwent no
change and in 1796, in a country where the progress
of knowledge had been favoured by frequent commun-



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THE COLONIES.

Extract from a Report made to the English Parliament.

having reminded the House that the observations hitherto made on the important and multiplied measures which have been carried on, and on the measures proposed, have had the interests of the East India Company more particularly for their object, your Committee will now examine the influence which those measures have had on the general prosperity of Great Britain, and it will be found that the results are more satisfactory than those which have been subject to inspection, when their reference to the separate interests of the Company were alone considered. The amount of the price of the goods and manufactures of all kinds, exported by the East India Company from the East Indies to China and St. Helena

country, to the amount of 15,444,670*l*. But the result of the commercial transactions with the East Indies might be rated much higher, were it possible to discover, with equal certainty, the amount of the importations and exportations, which take place in the privileged and the private trades, respectively.

“ On this head we can furnish nothing more than such approximating *data* as are founded on the proportion which exists between the first cost and the selling price of the Company's goods. The amount of the sale of goods, arising from the private, privileged, and neutral trades, has been 37,794,875*l*. It is impossible to state at present, with any positive degree of assurance, that these goods were purchased by the means of exports from England; but there is no manner of doubt that this purchase has been made at a price far below the first cost which we have laid down. Whatever may have been the value of the exportations which have taken place, the difference between it and the sum of 20,700,000*l*. is to be added to the conclusion already established; namely, the advantage which England has derived from the balance of her exportations and importations; which must be still further augmented from the transfer of capital, which is done in different ways between India and England, the amount of which cannot be ascertained with any absolute certainty.

“ Were it possible to establish and demonstrate those conclusions by positive calculation, the advantages which Great Britain derives would appear much more considerable. The same difficulty does not, however, prevent us from showing the increase which takes place in the circulation of wealth, and the benefits which India and England have derived from it, at

THE COLONIES.

time. The industry of the inhabitants of the colonies has received great encouragement, and has been greatly extended by the circulation of 46,000,000*l.* among them, or of 2,700,000*l.* annually added to the purchase of the goods, which are required to supply the colonies.

The produce and manufactures of India, with that sum is purchased, joined with those of the colonies which have been sold in England, have created a market for sale, which has amounted to 141,000,000*l.* or 141,000,000*l.* a year. The distribution and circulation of the goods resulting from this commerce may be stated in the following manner :

Value of English produce and	
manufactures	£ 29,000,000
Value of goods sold on English ships and	
in the colonies	25,000,000
Amount of bank notes	24,000,000

sum, amounting to 33,800,000*l.* the distribution of that sum, and the manner in which it is employed, may be assigned with tolerable precision.

“ It has been shewn that the customs, levied by the Company on imports, and employed in providing for the ordinary expenses of government, amount to 39,300,000*l.* and those upon exports to 660,000*l.*—Total 391,960,000*l.*

“ All these different sums, taken together, prove that, in the lapse of seventeen years, 10,900,000*l.* per annum, have been put into circulation, through different channels, in the interior of the United Kingdom; that its manufactures have been encouraged and multiplied; navigation increased, territorial revenues augmented, its commerce considerably extended, its agriculture become more flourishing; and, in fine, that all its resources and power have assumed a new degree of force and extension.”



A judgment may be formed upon the general state of commerce, and of the truth of what is stated in this work, with respect to the part which maritime nations take, (which we oppose to each other in that career), from the following table, stating the motion of commerce in the Baltic, during the year 1816.

Ships passed the Sound.....	8,874
Entered.—English	942
Americans	85
French	8
Spanish	5

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out.—English	906
Americans	85
French	8
Spanish	4
tal.—English	1848
Americans	168
French	16
Spanish	9

ve statement precludes every kind of obser-



ing to the last reports from South America, that the Court of Brazil will soon feel the that policy, which has impelled it to oppose of independence, which prevails over all loyalty of Buenos Ayres. That Court has not direct against Buenos Ayres more than

They are a sensible people, and judge, very correctly, that it is not for the interest of the governments of America to fight against each other, in America, for the governments of Europe.

All reports confirm what we have heard respecting the barbarities of which America is the theatre.

The Court of Madrid proves their existence, by inserting the following report in its Gazette :

“ Battle of St. Helene, in Peru,
April 3d, 1816.

“ I can assure your Excellency, that I never saw rage or energy equal to that of our enemies. They throw themselves on our muskets, as if they had nothing to fear from them : our soldiers were mixed with them : they grasped our men by the body, and endeavoured to wrench the arms out of their hands ; a shower of stones fell upon us ; we were obliged to fight with the bayonet. The wretched Lamargo died by my hand. I did not cease striking him with my sabre, until he let his sword fall out of his hand. I send it to you, *together with his head*. More than 600 men were dispatched with the bayonet, or *shot by the soldiers*. I intend to have the celebrated Pierre Nolasco Vislarubia beheaded in the public square : he is about to be conveyed to Pisit, together with two serjeants, who deserted from the regiment of Lima, who are also *to be shot, as well as all the other prisoners*.”

THE END.

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